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THE LORD'S COMMAND TO BAPTISE

AN HISTORICO-CRITICAL INVESTIGATION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORKS OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SACRED SCIENCES AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DOCTORATE IN THEOLOGY

BY

BERNARD HENRY CUNEO, O. F. M., S. T. L.
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
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TO THE FRANCISCAN FRIARS
OF THE PROVINCE OF ST. BARBARA
THIS WORK IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
IS DEDICATED BY ONE OF THEM

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PREFACE.

The present dissertation centers around the text of Mt. 28, 19. It has been impossible to do justice to the numerous, interesting problems, suggested by these parting words of the Savior as they have been preserved to us by the evangelist Matthew. The first part of the dissertation is an attempt at a full, tho perhaps not complete, presentation of the difficulties, which this text has occasioned to scholars of both the conservative and the radical school. The second part is intended to be a detailed study of the reasons, advanced by the positive group of the radical school, against the authenticity of the text. The result of this study has been that the authenticity of the text, inasfar as the external evidence of the manuscripts, the versions, and the citations in the works of the Fathers is concerned, cannot be called into question.

It is a matter of regret to the writer, that he has been unable to complete his work by a serious consideration of the difficulties, presented by the negative school of Higher Criticism; and also that he could not give his attention to the perplexing problems surrounding the interpretation of the text, in view of the seemingly conflicting statements of the Book of Acts and the Letters of St. Paul. It is his hope, however, that these questions will be treated exhaustively at some later date,—perhaps by a pen more competent than his.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Henry Schumacher, under whose direction and encouragement this work was undertaken and completed. He is grateful for the careful reading of the proofsheets by the Reverend Nicholas Ehrenfried, O. P. It is a pleasure for him, moreover, to express his gratitude to his learned friend, Dr. Joseph Rhode, O. F. M., to whose kind and personal interest he owes whatever advantages he may enjoy from a post-graduate course of studies. The sympathetic understanding of his former, lately deceased Vice-Provincial, the Very Rev. Theodore Arentz, O. F. M., and the large-hearted liberality of his present Provincial Superior, the Very Rev. Turibius Deaver, O. F. M., are graces for which the writer must rest eternally grateful to the Father of lights, from whom every good and perfect gift descends; for the considerate thoughtfulness of these men has greatly lightened and brightened his otherwise arduous course of studies.

Bernard H. Cuneo, O. F. M.

Mt. St. Sepulchre,
Washington, D. C.,
April 3, 1923.

ABBREVIATIONS.

CSS—Cursus Scripturae Sacrae (Hummelauer, Knabenbauer, Cornely).
DAC—Hasting's Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.
EB—Encyclopedia Biblica (Cheyne and Black).
ERE—Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
HDB—Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible.
HDB(I)—Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, Complete in One Volume.
JThSt—Journal of Theological Studies.
MG—Patrologiae graecae Cursus Completus (Migne).
ML—Patrologiae latinae Cursus Completus (Migne).
SDB—Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Hackett-Abbot).
TU—Texte und Untersuchungen.
ZNTW—Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

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INTRODUCTORY

Around the text of Mt. 28, 19: "Going, (therefore), make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost", there has been spun a web of involved delicacy, which has tightened and narrowed its meshes during that long and varied period, in which it has struggled from the Fathers down to us. The greater part of this period is tempered by the toil and trouble of those scholars, who may be called conservative in this point, since they never questioned the authenticity, or the historicity of the text, but strained every nerve to harmonise the interpretation of Mt. 28, 19 with the seemingly conflicting statements of the Book of Acts and the Letters of St. Paul. The lesser, and more modern term of the same period, is characterised, besides, by the efforts of a numerous minority to look upon the words of Matthew as authentic, perhaps, but unhistorical, since they stand in open conflict with the historical data of the Acts and of the Pauline Epistles; or even as unauthentic, since they are regarded as a later interpolation into the text of the First Gospel.

The germ of the difficulty is lodged in the fact that Mt. 28, 19 is the only text of the New Testament, which connects baptism directly with the Trinity; whereas the Book of Acts mentions it twice as administered ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2, 38; 10, 48), and twice εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (8, 16; 19, 5): and St. Paul speaks of baptism εἰς Χριστόν (Gal. 3, 27), or εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (Rom. 6, 3).

Do not these texts of the Acts and of the Pauline Epistles give preponderance to the opinion that the early Apostolic Church baptised in the name of Jesus alone? It would seem so. Yet, how could such a procedure be reconciled with the explicit command of the Savior to baptise in the name of the Trinity, as it is recorded in the Gospel of Matthew? Do the words of Matthew constitute a strict formula to be used in the administration of baptism? Do they impose any formula at all? If so, how can this formula be squared with the rival formulas of the Acts and St. Paul?

Or, should the words of the First Gospel be considered as the reflex of the ecclesiastical practice, which was in vogue at the time in which the First Gospel was written? Might the words in question have been interpolated into the text during the period, in which the primitive method of baptising in the name of Christ was being supplanted by the more developed method of baptising in the name of the Trinity? Might they have been based on the authority of Christ as a successful check on the outcries of a conservative minority against the newer, and radically different form of baptism?

These difficulties and hypotheses have engaged the attention of both the conservatives and the radicals. It will be interesting and profitable for us to follow the course of these two divergent streams of thought in their various ramifications thruout the ages. We shall first of all consider the traditional teaching in its various manifestations, as it is reflected in the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs and of the Councils, in the views of the scholastic school, and in the views of the modern conservative school. Then we shall consider the main line of argument of the modern radical, or anti-traditional school.

PART I

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF VIEWS REGARDING THE INTERPRETATION, HISTORICITY AND AUTHENTICITY OF MT. 28, 19

CHAPTER I

The Conservative School

1. *Decrees of the Popes and the Councils.*

The first papal pronouncement on this subject of which we have any knowledge, dates from the third century. It was the outcome of that spirited and bitter controversy concerning the validity of baptism administered by heretics, which stirred the western Church to its very pillars, and threatened to sunder the provinces of Africa and Asia Minor from communion with Rome. The main figure in this controversy was *St. Cyprian,* Bishop of Carthage (d. 258), who in union with St. Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappodocia (d. 269) withstood the decision of *St. Stephen I,* Bishop of Rome (d. 257).

Firmilian was the first to come into conflict with the Roman See. Between the years 230 and 235, he presided over a synod held at Iconium in Phrygia, in which the bishops of Galatia, Cilicia and the neighboring provinces participated. At this synod it was unanimously decided that baptism administered by heretics was invalid; and that consequently everyone who had been baptised in heresy, had to be rebaptised on entering the church.[1] This decision of the Asiatic bishops, and their corresponding practice, brought them into disfavor with Stephen, who threatened to excommunicate them, if they did not abandon their views.[2]

St. Cyprian entered the controversy in the year 255. In that year he convoked a Council at Carthage, at which 31 bishops adjudged baptism administered outside the pale of the Church to be invalid. A second council of 71 bishops in the following year (256) rendered a similar decision. St. Cyprian sent the conciliar acts to Rome for approval; but Stephen rejected the decision, and maintained the validity of heretical baptism.

Unfortunately the reply of Pope Stephen to Cyprian has been lost, as have also all documents or letters which he may have written on the subject. We must therefore rely entirely on extracts of his letters as they are preserved in the correspondence between Cyprian

[1] Another synod seems to have been held at about the same time at Synnada in Phrygia. Cf. Hefele Conciliengeschichte I, 108.

[2] Hefele, I, 117.

and Firmilian, and on their interpretation of Stephen's words, for any knowledge of the Pontiff's views on this matter.

In his letter (74th) to Firmilian, Cyprian quotes Stephen as saying: "Si qui ergo a *quacunque haeresi* venient ad vos, nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illis imponatur in poenitentiam, cum ipsi haeretici proprie alterutrum ad se venientes non baptizent, sed communicent tantum".[3]

Should we conclude from this text that Stephen was prepared to admit the validity of every heretical baptism, whether the trinitarian form had been used or not? From the letters of Cyprian and Firmilian the conclusion is forced upon us, that Stephen was willing to admit the validity of every heretical baptism of his time; and that for two seemingly conflicting reasons: first, because heretics baptised in the name of *Jesus Christ*; secondly, because they baptised in the name of the *Trinity.*

In support of the first view we have the letter (73rd) of Cyprian,[4] in which we find the following statements:

1. The defenders of heretical baptism uphold the validity of baptism performed by the *Marcionites,* because they baptise *in the name of Jesus Christ.*

2. Cyprian's opponents maintain the validity of a baptism performed outside the Church *in the name of Jesus Christ.*

3. Heretics, in fact, baptise *in the name of Christ.*

The same view is expressed in the letter of Firmilian to Cyprian, which says: "Sed in multum inquit (Stephanus), proficit *nomen Christi* ad fidem et baptismi sanctificationem, ut quicumque et ubicumque *in nomine Christi baptizatus* fuerit, consequatur gratiam Christi".[5]

On the other hand we have assertions, which seem to point to the conclusion that Stephen approved the baptisms of heretics, because they were performed *in the name of the Trinity.* For instance, in his same 73rd letter, St. Cyprian concedes that the *Marcionites* baptised *in the name of the Trinity*; and he tries to weaken this argument by saying, that under the expression "Father, Son and Holy Ghost", the Marcionites understood something quite different from the Church at large.[6] Cyprian's argumentation

[3] Denziger-Bannwart Enchiridion Symb. et Def. Edit. 14 and 15, 1922, n. 46.

[4] ML, 3, 1112 sqq.

[5] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 47.

[6] ML, 3, 1115 B.

leads us to think that his opponents, (hence Stephen), defended the validity of the Marcionitic baptisms because they were performed *in the name of the Trinity.* Yet, in the same letter, as mentioned above, the Marcionites are claimed to baptise *in the name of Jesus Christ.*

Then again, in the same 75th letter of Firmilian we read that a certain woman in his vicinity, claiming to be a prophetess, had administered baptism; but eventually she was discovered to be possessed by an evil spirit. He then asks the question: "Will Stephen and his followers claim that the baptisms administered by her were valid, especially since they were performed *in the name of the Trinity?*".[7]

Are we to conclude from these passages that Stephen believed that some heretics administered baptism in the name of Jesus, and others in the name of the Trinity? Firmilian in his 75th letter to Cyprian says: "Stephanus in sua epistola dixit: haereticos quoque ipsos in baptismo convenire"; and in the 74th letter of Cyprian we read: "ipsi haeretici proprie alterutrum ad se venientes non baptizant". Consequently, since the heretics had no proper baptism of their own (proprie non baptizant), but agreed with regard to baptism (in baptismo convenire), it seems to have been Stephen's conviction that the heretics of his day used the same formula in baptising as the Church did. Whether Stephen was correct in this opinion is another question.[8]

In view of what has been said, the following conclusions seem justified:

1. Stephen believed that the baptismal formula used by the heretics of the third century was the same as that used by the Church.

2. He admits the validity of heretical baptism for two reasons: first, because it was administered *in the name of Jesus;* secondly, because it was administered *in the name of the Trinity.*

3. Consequently, either Stephen considered baptism *in the name of Jesus* and baptism *in the name of the Trinity* synonymous expressions for baptism administered with the formula *in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.* or baptism was administered with both formulas in the Roman Church of the third century.

[7] ML, 3, 1165 B.

[8] For a lucid treatment of the entire discussion see Hefele, l. c., pp. 122-133; also J. Corblet, Histoire du Sacrement De Baptême, Paris, 1881, livre VI, ch. IV, pp. 326-348.

We know from Cyprian's 73rd letter (to Jubaianus) that some persons of his time upheld the validity of baptism *in the name of Jesus alone.* The passage is: "Denique ubi post resurrectionem a Domino Apostoli ad gentes mittuntur, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizare gentes jubentur. Quomodo, ergo, quidam dicunt foris extra Ecclesiam, immo et contra Ecclesiam, modo *in nomine Jesu Christi* ubicumque et quomodocumque gentilem baptizatum remissionem peccatorum consequi posse, quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubet in plena et adunata Trinitate?".[9]

Is this passage to be referred to Stephen or not? Baronius (d. 1607) seems to have been the first to affirm that it does.[10] Fanning in the Catholic Encyclopedia also understands it in the same sense.[11] Rainy openly attributes this view to Stephen;[12] so do also A. Allen[13] and Conybeare.[14] Kattenbusch, however, in his monumental work on the Symbolum,[15] says that it is not certain what heretics Cyprian had in mind. P. de Puniet says that it is uncertain that Stephen referred to a baptism performed solely under the invocation of the name of Jesus.[16] The truth on this controverted point would demand a study in itself, and it cannot be entered upon further here.[17]

The question of heretical baptism was taken up again by the General Council of the western Church at *Arles* in Gaul in the year 314. The decision of the Carthagenian councils under Cyprian, was revoked; and it was ordained that heretics who had been baptised in the Trinity, should not be rebaptised on returning to the Catholic fold.

The wording of the eighth canon, however, which contains the decision, is peculiar. It runs: "De Afris quod propria lege sua utuntur ut rebaptizent, placuit, ut si ad Ecclesiam aliquis de haeresi venerit, *interrogent eum symbolum,* et si perviderint eum in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus ei

[9] ML, 3, 1120 B-C.

[10] Ann. Eccles., tom. 1, an. Ch. 34, n. 248.

[11] Art. Baptism, p. 263, col. 2.

[12] The Ancient Catholic Church, p. 259 sq.

[13] Christian Institutions, p. 403 sq.

[14] ZNTW, 1901, The Eusebian Form of the Text, Mt. 28, 19, p. 286, n. 33.

[15] Apostl. Symbol., vol. 2, p. 375, note 35.

[16] Dict. d'Arch. et Litur., art. Baptême, III. L'Acte Baptismal et sa Formule, etc., col. 338.

[17] A rich store of literature will be found in the work of J. Corblet, Histoire du Sacrement de Baptême, tom. 1, p. 348, note 1.

tantum imponatur ut accipiat Spiritum Sanctum. *Quodsi interrogatus, non responderit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur*".[18]

It would almost seem from the foregoing words, that by the expression *in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto baptizatum,* the council of Arles understood baptism administered after a profession of faith in the Trinity. Nothing is directly said in the canon about the baptismal formula. The bishops of Africa are merely instructed to ask the converted heretics *concerning the symbolum,* and to rebaptise them if they *do not answer the Trinity* (if they make no mention of the Trinity in their symbolum?).

The following synods and councils which treat of heretical baptism, either emphasize the eighth canon of the council of Arles, or merely apply its principles to individual classes of heretics. Thus canon 8 of the First General Council at *Nicaea* (325) ordains that the Novatians should not be rebaptised, while canon 19 says that the Paulianists (followers of Paul of Samosata) should be rebaptised.[19] The synod of *Carthage,* held under Gratus between the years 345 and 348, forbids the rebaptism of the Donatists.[20] The synod of *Laodicea* in Phrygia, held between 348 and 381, decides in its seventh canon that the Novatians, (and Photinians),[21] and Quartodecimans should not be rebaptised; whereas the eighth canon commands the Phrygians (Montanists) to be rebaptised.[22]

In two letters of *Pope Innocent I,* we are told the explicit reason why some heretics were admitted without rebaptism, and others not. In his second letter, *Etsi tibi,* written to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen (Feb. 15, 404), he repeats the decision of the eighth canon of Nicaea, that the Novatians (whom he calls Montenses)[23] should not be rebaptised. He then adds the reason: "quia quamvis ad haereticis, *tamen in Christi nomine sunt baptizati*".[24]

The same Pope, however, in his 17th epistle, *Magna me gratulatio,* addressed to Rufus and other bishops of Macedonia (Dec. 13, 414), in explaining why the Council of Nicaea discriminated between the Novatians and the Paulianists, has the following to

[18] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 53.

[19] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., nn. 55, 56.

[20] Hefele, l. c., I, 633.

[21] See the discussion of the authenticity of this word in Hefele, l. c., I, 753 sq.

[22] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 88.

[23] Cf. Hefele, l. c., II, 46.

[24] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 94.

say: "Quod idcirco distinctum esse ipsis duabus haeresibus, ratio manifesta declarat, quia Paulinanistae *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti minime baptizent,* et Novatiani iisdem nominibus tremendis venerandisque baptizant, *nec apud istos de unitate potestatis divinae,* hoc est Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti *quaestio aliquando commota est*".[25]

Here we find the same peculiarity as we did above with Stephen I. Stephen admitted the validity of all heretical baptisms of his time, because they were performed in the name of Jesus Christ, and again, because they were performed in the name of the Trinity. Innocent proclaims the baptisms of the Novatians valid, because they baptised in the name of Christ (ep. 2), and again, because they baptised in the name of the Trinity (ep. 17). Did Innocent identify the two expressions, or did he consider both formulas valid, or were the expressions in question not intended to refer to any formula at all?

The question of heretical baptism is again considered by the second council of *Arles* (443 or 452). The injunction is here repeated to rebaptise the Photinians and the Paulianists *according to the precepts of the Fathers* (canon 16), but to receive the Bonosians without baptism, because like the Arians, they baptised *in the Trinity* (canon 17).[26]

The same question is treated more fully in the canon, which at present is enumerated as the seventh in the canons of the second General Council held at *Constantinople* (381), but which most probably was taken from a letter, addressed by the Church of Constantinople to Bishop Martyrius of Antioch in the middle of the fifth century (ca. 460).[27] This canon, or rather letter, mentions that the Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatines (followers of Sabbatius), Novatians, Quartodecimans and Apollinarists are not rebaptised; but the Eunomians, the Montanists (who are called Phrygians), the Sabellians and all other heretics, especially such as hail from Galatia are received as heathens,—they are baptised only after a long period of instruction.

About a hundred years later (ca. 560), we find the first explicit statement concerning heretics who baptise in the name of Jesus *alone*. It is contained in the letter, *Admonemus ut,* written by Pope *Pelagius I* to Gaudentius, Bishop of Volterra in Italy.

[25] Ibidem, n. 97.
[26] Hefele, l. c., II, 300.
[27] Ibidem, II, 27.

The Pope declares such baptisms invalid, and demands that persons baptised with such a formula should be rebaptised according to the words of Mt. 28, 19.[28]

Almost as clear a pronouncement is had in the ep. 67, libri II, *Quia charitati,* written by *Pope Gregory I* to Quiricus and the bishops of Ireland (June 22, 601). Gregory here affirms that he has learned from the ancient teaching of the Fathers, that whosoever had been baptised in the Trinity while in heresy, should not be rebaptised; but whosoever had not been baptised in the Trinity, should be baptised, "quia baptisma non fuit, quod in errore positi, in sanctae Trinitatis nomine minime perceperunt".[29]

The statement of Conybeare that in this seventh century the popes of Rome excommunicated the entire Celtic Church for their adhesion to the old method of baptising in the name of Jesus alone,[30] is not in accordance with historical truth. At the time to which Conybeare refers, the Anglo-Saxons had succeeded in overrunning England, and subjugating the Christian Britons who formerly possessed the land. The feeling of hatred in the British hearts, against the invaders, was so deep, that they would not even attempt to evangelise the heathen conquerors, in order that they might not become partakers thru their help, of eternal happiness in the world to come.

When Augustine landed on the isle of Thanet in the year 557 in answer to the command of Gregory the Great, he found this feeling of the native Britons an obstacle to his mission. He found, too, that the Christian clergy not only of England, but also of Ireland and Scotland, differed in very many respects in their liturgy from the mother-Church at Rome.

It was Augustine's aim to persuade the Britons to aid him in evangelising the Anglo-Saxons, and also to conform to Rome in the carrying-out of their liturgy. Accordingly he assembled the bishops and the chief priests of England, and proposed that they make the following concessions. I shall give the proposals in the words of Ven. Bede, the oldest historian on this subject:

"Dicebat autem eis: Quia in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo universalis Ecclesiae contraria geritis: et tamen, si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut Pascha suo tempore celebretis; ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctae romanae et apostolicae Ecclesiae compleatis; ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini praedicetis: ceterum quae agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tolerabimus. At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant."[31]

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[28] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 229.

[29] Ibidem, n. 249.

[30] The Hibbert Journal, 1902, p. 107; also art. Baptism, in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

[31] Historia Ecclesiastica, ML, 95, 83, cap. 2.

The principal difference between the Celtic Church and the Church of Rome, consisted in the different computation of the paschal time; at least this divergence of observance gave rise to the greatest inconvenience, and even bitterness, between the two parties, until in the year 664 the matter was settled in favor of the Roman observance by the Northumbrian king, Oswiu.[32]

The difference regarding baptism was not as important as Conybeare would have us believe. According to the words of Bede, quoted above, Augustine asked the Britons to complete baptism according to the custom of the Roman and Apostolic Church ("ut ministerium baptizandi *compleatis*"); at least the ordinary meaning of *complere* is to *complete*, altho it may also mean to *perform*.

At any rate, we have no testimony to the effect that the Celts baptised in the name of Jesus alone. Montalembert[33] understands the words of Bede as referring to the words after baptism, and probably to the sacrament of Confirmation. M. Varin, in his second treatise on the causes of the differences between the Celtic Church and the Church of Rome (the summary of which is given in Montalembert's "The Monk of the West"[34]), understands the expression of Bede to refer to the ceremonies supplementary to baptism,—ceremonies, which the islanders would not recognise, because their first apostles who had come from Rome, had told them nothing about them. From the words of Bede it is more natural to conclude that the difference consisted in these supplementary ceremonies than in the formula itself.

Moreover, the popes of Rome never excommunicated the Celtic Church for this difference of observance. No such excommunication is mentioned by Montalembert in the "Monks of the West", Lingard in the "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church", Rohrbacher in his "Histoire Universelle de L'Eglise Catholique", Thurston in his article "Anglo-Saxon Church", in the "Catholic Encyclopedia", Zimmermann in his article "England", in Wetzer and Welte's "Kirchenlexicon".

Montalembert says expressly: "Rome never treated as schismatics, or heretics, those Celtic dissidents, the most illustrious of whom, Columbanus of Luxeuil and Aiden of Landisfarne, have always had a place in her martyrology. She never proceeded otherwise than by way of counsel and moderation, without insisting on violent measures, and patiently awaiting the returning calm of excited spirits, giving to all an example of prudence, moderation and charity".[35]

In the following century we have an interesting case which St. Boniface of Germany proposed to Pope *Zachary I* for solution. There was an ignorant priest in Bavaria, he writes, who corrupted the formula and baptised: "in nomine patria et filia et spiritus sancti". Boniface ordered these baptisms to be repeated; but

[32] Ibidem, cap. 25, col. 158 sqq.

[33] The Monks of the West, vol. 2, p. 179, note 94, edition of 1872, Boston.

[34] Appendix II, p. 743.

[35] L. c., 2, p. 320 sq.

since this measure was opposed by two of his priests, Virgilius (later Bishop of Salzburg) and Sidonius (later Bishop of Passau), he asked Pope Zachary to decide the case. The Pope answered (July 1, 746) that the baptisms were valid, if the priest changed the formula merely thru ignorance, and not thru any heretical intention.[36]

Boniface wrote again informing the Pope of the decision reached by the *General Frankish Synod* of 747, that if the name of one person was omitted from the formula, the baptisms were invalid. The Pope approved the decision.[37] His letter, *Sacris liminibus,* written May 1, 748, is a clear statement of his position: "Quicunque sine invocatione Trinitatis lotus fuisset, sacramentum regenerationis non haberet . . . ; perfectus non est, nisi fuerit in nomine Patris, et Filii, and Spiritus Sancti baptizatus".[38]

In spite of this clear statement of Pope Zachary in the year 748, and of Pope Gregory the Great in 601, and of Pelagius I in 560, we are confronted by another very doubtful utterance in the *Responsa* of *Nicholas I* to the *Consulta Bulgarorum* (Nov. 866). From the 14th to the 16th chapter of Nicholas's answer, we are told that there was a certain Greek among the Bulgarians who pretended to be a priest, and in this way had been able to baptise a great number of people. When the people found out that he was an impostor, they maltreated him and drove him away. Nicholas condemns this action as cruel and punishable; but he informs the Bulgarians that the baptisms were valid, if they were performed in the Trinity.[39]

In the 104th chapter of the same document, however, we find a conflicting statement. It reads: "A quodam Judaeo, nescitis utrum christiano an pagano, multos in patria vestra baptizatos asseritis, et quid de his agendum, consulitis. Hi profecto si in nomine Sanctae Trinitatis, vel *tantum in nomine Christi* sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legimus, baptizati sunt (unum quippe idemque est, ut Sanctus exposuit Ambrosius), constat eos non esse denuo baptizandos".[40]

Here again the same question arises as before with Stephen I and Innocent I. Did Nicholas consider the expressions *in nomine*

[36] Hefele, l. c., 3, 555.
[37] Ibidem, 566.
[38] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 297.
[39] Hefele, l. c., 4, 348.
[40] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 335.

Sanctae Trinitatis, and *in nomine Christi* as synonymous expressions for a baptism administered with the formula *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti,* or did he consider the expressions as two distinct formulas, both of which could be used for the valid administration of baptism? The latter position is attributed to him by the majority of the scholastics; as, for instance, Estius,[41] Suarez,[42] Sylvius,[43] Tournely,[44] Gotti,[45] Juenin,[46] and St. Alphonse;[47] also by the modern conservatives Liebermann,[48] Heinrich,[49] Pohle-Preuss,[50] and Plummer.[51] The first view was championed by St. Thomas,[52] and lately again by C. Pesch,[53] tho with different explanations.

Alexander III (d. 1181) in a letter to Pontius says that if a person baptised a child with the formula *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen,* omitting the words *ego baptizo te,* the baptism were invalid.[54]

The first clear official enunciation of the baptismal formula used in the Catholic Church is set down in the first chapter, "De Fide Catholica", of the Twelfth General Council, the *Fourth of Lateran* (1215). The wording is: "Sacramentum vero baptismi (quod ad Dei invocationem et individuae Trinitatis, videlicet, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti consecratur in aqua) tam parvulis quam adultis in forma Ecclesiae a quocumque rite collatum proficit ad salutem".[55] It will be observed, however, that nothing is stated about the validity, or invalidity, of other formulas in past ages.

Sixty-nine years later the synod of *Nemours* (1284), after emphasizing that the trinitarian formula should be used in baptism, adds the remarkable statement: "Idem dicimus, scilicet, infantem baptizatum esse, si baptizans dicit: *Baptizo te in nomine Christi.*

[41] Comm. in Lib. IV Sent. dist. 3, par. 5.
[42] Summa Theol., Disp. 21, Sect. 3, 4, col. 875, Dico 4°.
[43] Comm. in Tert. Part. S. Th. Aq., q. 66, a. 6.
[44] De Sac. Bapt., art. 4, obj. 2.
[45] Theol. Schol.-Dogm. tr. 5, De Bapt. dub. 7, part. 3, n. 15.
[46] Comm. Hist. et Dogm. De Sac. Diss. 2, De Bapt. c. 3, a. 3, Concl. 2.
[47] Theol. Moral., lib. 6, tr. 2, De Bapt. c. 1. dub. 3.
[48] Instit. Theol., p. 420, 4°.
[49] Dogm. Theol., p. 286.
[50] The Sacraments, 1, 224.
[51] Art. Baptism in HDB, IV, The History of Christian Baptism.
[52] Summa 3, q. 66, a. 6, ad tertium.
[53] Prael. Dogm., 6, n. 389.
[54] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 398.
[55] Ibidem, l. c., n. 430.

Quod tamen non est laicis exprimendum, ne a *forma praedicta statuta per Ecclesiam* recedatur".[56]

The fifteenth General Council at *Vienne* (1311-1312) repeated the words of the Fourth Lateran Council. It says: "Ad hoc baptisma unicum baptizatos omnes in Christos regenerans est, sicut unus Deus, ac fides unica, ab omnibus fideliter confitendum, quod celebratum in aqua in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, credimus esse tam adultis quam parvulis communiter perfectum remedium ad salutem".[57]

That this statement of the Council of Vienne, and likewise that of the Fourth Lateran Council, refers to the actual practice of the Church at the time in which those councils were held, and does not regard the baptisms administered in the past, seems clear from the discussions, which continued in the theological schools, as to whether the Apostles made use of the trinitarian, or the christological formula in baptism.

This point is clearly illustrated in the discourse entitled: *De Communione sub utraque specie*, addressed in the year 1433 to the *Council of Basle* by the Dominican, John of Ragusa. He says: "Dominus Jesus Christus ascendens in coelum praecepit apostolis dicens, Matthaei ultimo: Ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, in quibus verbis dedit eis et limitavit formam baptismi et in persona eorum toti ecclesiae. Et tamen, non post longum tempus, *ipsi apostoli et ecclesia* dimittendo dictam formulam in nomine Patris etc., traditam a Domino, baptizabant tantum in nomine Domini Jesus Christi. . . . Si enim immutaverunt apostoli formam baptismi, quae dat essentiam sacramento, taliter ut si quis nunc in illa forma, qua ipsi apostoli, baptizaret, non esset baptismus, quanto magis potest ecclesia mutare vel tollere unam speciem etc".[58]

Consequently, altho John of Ragusa admits that to perform baptism in the name of Jesus alone in his day were invalid, still, he says, it was valid in the early days of the Church.

The question of the formula was once more treated by *Eugene IV* in his *Decretum pro Armenis* (1439). He states that the bap-

[56] Mansi, *Concilia* 24, col. 523.

[57] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 482. Mansi, however, 25, col. 411, has the text in the more intelligible form: "Baptisma unicum baptizatos omnes in Christo regenerans, sicut unus Deus ac fides unica, ab omnibus confitendum est".

[58] Mansi Concilia, 29, col. 858 and 863.

tismal formula is: *Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.* However, he continues, he does not wish to deny that two other formulas are also valid, scil: *Baptizatur talis servus Christi in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti;* and: *Baptizatur manibus meis talis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*[59]

The *Council of Trent* (1545-1563) settled the question of heretical baptism, by anathematising anyone who maintained the invalidity of a baptism, performed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the Church does.[60]

Alexander VIII in 1690 condemned the opinion of those persons who held that baptism had in past ages been validly conferred in the form *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti,* without mentioning: *Ego te baptizo.*[61]

The result of this survey may be summarised thus: We have no decision of a General Council, or any papal document addressed to the entire Church, or in fact, any document at all of a pope, synod, or council, which states that baptism performed in the name of Jesus alone, was invalid in every age of the Church's history. We know for certain that such baptisms were considered invalid in the sixth century by Pelagius I, in the seventh by Gregory I, in the eighth by Zachary I, and probably in the fifth by Innocent I. In the third century the position of Stephen I on the question is very doubtful, as is also that of Nicholas I in the ninth century.

The Lateran Council of the 13th century, that of Vienne in the 14th, and of Trent in the 16th put down as the requirements for a valid baptism, *the ablution by water* and the *invocation of the Trinity.* This invocation is not further determined by these councils. It is determined only in the practical instruction of Eugene IV to the Armenians, in the form: *I baptise thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*

That the General Councils did not wish to condemn all baptisms of the past, which had not been performed with the formula *I baptise thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,* seems clear from the *Cathechismus Romanus,* edited in the year 1566 for the pastors of the Catholic Church by express orders of the Council of Trent. This official catechism of the Council of

[59] Denziger-Bannwart, l. c., n. 696.
[60] Ibidem, n. 860.
[61] Ibidem, n. 1317.

Trent takes up the question of the baptisms administered by the Apostles in the first century. It says that if the Apostles baptised merely in the name of Jesus, they did it by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (Spiritus Sancti afflatu), and in this christological formula everything was contained which had been ordained by Christ: "qui enim Jesum Christum dicit, simul etiam Patris personam, a quo unctus, et Spiritum Sanctum quo unctus est, significat". In the following words, however, the compilers of the Catechism seem to incline toward the opinion that the Apostles made use of the trine form, and that the expressions of Acts and St. Paul are to be understood of Christian baptism in contrast to the Joannine baptism.[62]

Then again, we have the testimony of *Benedict XIV* (d. 1758). In his treatise *De Festo Ascensionis*,[63] he mentions the two opinions on this vexed problem, without venturing a decision of his own; altho he adds that the majority of the theologians hold that the Apostles always made use of the trine form.

2. *The View of the Scholastics.*

The same scriptural texts which caused difficulty to the popes and the councils from the third century down to the eighteenth, agitated the minds of the scholastic theologians from the twelfth century onward. The two greatest exponents of theology in the first half of the twelfth century, were Hugo de St. Victor and Peter Lombard. Hugo de St. Victor wrote his work *De Sacramentis* about the year 1134, some eleven or twelve years before Peter Lombard wrote his famous *Book of Sentences* (ca. 1145-1151).

In the work *De Sacramentis* (lib. 2, pars 2, cap. 1),[64] Hugo states as his conviction that baptism is valid (*plenum*) even if it be administered in the name of one person of the Trinity, provided the minister believed in the entire Trinity; whereas if the minister did not believe in the Trinity, the baptism performed by him was imperfect (*imperfectum*), even tho it had been administered with the trine invocation.

He bases this opinion on the meaning which he attaches to the

[62] Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini. Editio 1ª stereotypa, 1871, p. 150.

[63] Benedict XIV, Opera Omnia in Tomos XVII Distributa, Prati, 1843, Tom. IX, p. 179, n. 24.

[64] ML, 176, 443 sqq; esp. 446, A, and 447, C, D.

expression *to be baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,* and also on an obscure passage in the works of St. Ambrose. The expression in Mt. 28, 19 he asserts at length, means to be baptised into the faith, or profession of faith, in the Trinity. Consequently, since this profession of faith in the Trinity, according to him, is the essential feature, it matters little what formula is used in the administration of baptism. He even goes so far as to assert that he would not dare pronounce on the validity of a baptism, which had been performed by a minister who believed in the Trinity, but who did not pronounce the words, either because he could not speak, or because he forgot the words on account of some imminent danger or other reason.

That this is Hugo's final opinion is evident from the *Praefatiuncula*, which he prefixed to his work *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei.* In that *Praefatiuncula* he admonishes the reader that he wrote this treatise owing to the insistent demands of his friends, and that he made use of his former dictations. If, however, the reader found elsewhere in his works anything not agreeing with his opinions here, he should change them according to this book. "Lectorem admonitum esse volo, ut sicubi ea extra operis hujus seriem aliud aut aliter aliquid habentia invenerit, hanc diversitatis causam esse sciat, et si quid forte in eis emendandum fuerit, ad hujus operis formam componat."

The passage of St. Ambrose, by which he supports this opinion, is found in lib. 1, De Spiritu Sancto cap. 3.[65] Ambrose has just been treating of the disciples at Ephesus, who had been baptised with the baptism of John, and were rebaptised by Paul. He continues: "Baptizati sunt itaque in nomine Jesu Christi; nec iteratum est in his baptisma, sed novatum; unum enim baptisma (Eph. 4, 5). Ubi autem non est plenum baptismatis sacramentum, nec principium vel species aliqua baptismatis aestimatur. Si unum neges, totum subrues. Et quemadmodum si unum in sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem aut Filium aut Spiritum sanctum, fide autem nec Patrem nec Filium nec Spiritum sanctum abneges, plenum est fidei sacramentum; ita etiam quamvis et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum dicas, et aut Patris aut Filii aut Spiritus sancti minuas potestatem, vacuum est omne mysterium. Nunc consideremus utrum quemadmodum in Christi nomine plenum esse legimus baptismatis sacramentum, ita etiam sancto tantum Spiritu nuncupato, nihil desit ad mysterii plenitudinem. Rationem sequamur; quia qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas,

[65] ML, 16, 713, n. 42 sq.

et Deum Patrem, a quo unctus est Filius, et Spiritum sanctum, quo unctus est, designasti. . . Et si Patrem dicas, et Filium ejus et Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicasti; si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. Et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo procedit Spiritus: et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti".

It was on the authority of this passage that Peter Lombard, also, asserted that baptism in the name of Christ alone was valid, and probably also in the name of the Father alone, or of the Holy Ghost alone, provided the minister believed in the Blessed Trinity.[66] He confirms this view, moreover, by the answer of Pope Nicholas I, *Ad Consulta Bulgarorum,* which has been mentioned above.

This opinion of Hugo and Peter Lombard seems to have gained influence in the twelfth century. We find it carried out to the extreme in one of the letters of the contemporary saint, scholar, and statesman, Bernard of Clairvaux. St. Bernard (d. 1153) had been asked by Henry the Archdeacon his opinion concerning the baptism of a boy, who had been extracted from his mother's womb, and had been baptised by a lay person with the formula: *Baptizo te in nomine Dei et sanctae crucis.* He answers as follows "*sine praejudicio tamen sanius sapientis*":

"Ego vere hunc baptizatum puto: nec sonum vocis veritati fidei et pietati intentionis praejudicare potuisse. . . . Neque enim, cum juxta *communem Ecclesiae constitutionem* baptizantes dicimus: in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, aliud intelligendum est quam in confessione Trinitatis. Porro autem confessio sanctae crucis nonnisi crucifixi confessio est. Legimus sane in Actibus Apostolorum non modo: in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, verum et in nomine Domini Jesu Christi aliquos baptizatos".[67]

Some authors have questioned the authenticity of this letter. Thus among others Estius (In IV Lib. Sent. Comm. dist. 3, par. 5) and Sylvius (Comm. in Tert. Part. S. Th. Aq., q. 66, art. 6); but these authors adduce no reason in favor of their assertion excepting the strangeness of the doctrine contained in the letter. But that doctrine from the lips of St. Bernard is not strange at all, when we stop to think that Bernard was the scholar and friend of Hugo de St. Victor (cf. Mabillion, Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia, 1667, Tom. 1, p. V, of the Brevis Chronologia in Vitam, etc., under the year MCXLII, where he calls Hugo: "S. Bernardi amicus et cultor praecipuus, alter sui seculi Augustinus"). J. Corblet (Histoire

[66] Lib. IV Sent., dist. 3, cap. 3, n. 25, and cap. 4, n. 26.
[67] ML, 182, 614, C, Epistola 403 (antea 340).

Du Sacrement De Baptême, 1, 282) also expresses his doubts about the authenticity, on account of the doctrine, and on account of the small number of documents in which the letter appears. Horstius says that he would not easily deny its authenticity (ML, 182, 614 C, note 1054). Mabillion (l. c.) tells us that it is found in the edition of Lyons, 1520, in other later editions, and in the manuscript Sarbonicus. It is to be regretted that we have no critical edition of St. Bernard's works; but we must bear in mind that the doctrine expressed in the letter, far from militating against the authenticity, is a strong argument in its favor. It is just what we should expect to hear from one of Hugo's disciples, since it is the logical outcome of his principles.

We find the same opinion in its more mitigated form, viz: that baptism in the name of Christ was always valid, and probably also baptism in the name of the Father alone or of the Holy Ghost alone, maintained as late as the 15th and the 16th centuries by Adrianus (d. 1458), Cajetan (d. 1534), and Toletus (d. 1596).[68]

The vast majority of the scholastics, however, rejected this opinion, and maintained that the threefold invocation was absolutely necessary. Concerning the expressions in the Acts and St. Paul, there were two opinions: the first, that the Apostles baptised in the name of Jesus alone in virtue of a special dispensation; the second, that the Apostles always made use of the trine form, and that the conflicting statements of the Acts and St. Paul are to be interpreted as meaning Christian baptism in contrast to the Joannine baptism.

The first view was the more prevalent one in the years preceding the Council of Trent.[69] It was held among others by Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas, Duns Scotus, and by the thomistic and scotistic schools generally.[70]

The contrary opinion, however, gained ground after the Council of Trent.[69] Bellarmine (d. 1621) calls the view that baptism was valid if performed with the invocation of one of the divine names, "*incommoda opinio multorum catholicorum*". He rejects the opinion that the Apostles made use of a dispensation, because such a dispensation is not mentioned in the Scriptures, or in any council, or in the works of any of the Fathers.[71]

[68] Cf. Cornelius a Lapide in Rom. 6, 3, vol. 18.

[69] Cf. Pohle-Preuss, The Sacraments, 1, 221 sq.

[70] Cf. Ferraris, Prompta Bibliotheca, tom. 1, s. v. Bapt. art. 3, n. 32. For St. Thomas see the Summa 3, q. 66, art. 6 ad primum; also: Exposit. in Sanct. J. C. Evang. sec. Mt. ad loc. For Scotus see: Lib. IV Sent., dist. 3, q. 2; also Reportata Parisiensia, lib. 4, dist. 3, q. 2, n. 8.

[71] De Sacram. Bapt., lib. 1, cap. 3.

Similarly Vasquez (d. 1604),[72] Estius (d. 1613),[73] Suarez (d. 1617),[74] Coninck (d. 1633),[72] Cornelius a Lapide (d. 1637),[75] Grotius (d. 1645),[76] Sylvius (d. 1649),[77] Aversa (d. 1657),[72] Tournely (d. 1729),[78] Elbel (d. 1756),[79] Ferraris (d. 1760),[72] Juenin (d. ?),[80] and others reject the apostolic dispensation. It is rather surprising, therefore, to find Anaclete Reiffenstuehl in the late 17th century (d. 1703), affirming that the apostolic dispensation was the more common opinion of theologians with few exceptions.[81] Gotti (d. 1742) says that both are probable.[82] St. Alphonse Ligouri (d. 1787) affirms that the second opinion was more common and more probable.[83]

The explanations which the supporters of the second view give to the texts of the Acts are various. The prevalent idea is that when the Book of Acts mentions baptism in the name of Jesus, it does not wish to exclude the Father and the Holy Ghost, but wishes merely to state that certain persons were baptised with the baptism instituted by Christ, in order to distinguish that baptism from the baptism of John.[84] Hence the expressions may mean that baptism was administered after a profession of faith in Christ,[85] or in the sacrament of baptism,[86] or that it was administered thru the merits of Christ,[87] or on the authority of Christ.[88]

These scholastics, however, do not adopt any one explanation. They all adduce two, or three, or four explanations, and say that any may be accepted. Some even advance the theory that the

[72] See Ferraris, Prompta Bibliotheca, tom. 1 s. v. Bapt. art. 3, nn. 30-34.
[73] In Lib. IV sent. Comm. dist. 3, par. 2.
[74] Summa Theol. disp. 21, sect. 3, 4, col. 874 sq.
[75] In Rom. 6, 3; I Cor. 1, 13, vol. 18.
[76] Operum Theol., tom. 2, ad loc.
[77] Comm. in Tert. Part. S. Th. Aq., q. 66, art. 6.
[78] De Sacram. Bapt., art. 4, p. 167.
[79] Theol. Moral., pars. 8, conf. 5, n. 105.
[80] Comm. Hist. et Dogm. de Sacram. dist. 2 De Bapt. cap. 3, art. 3.
[81] Theol. Moral. tr. 14 De Sacram. dist. 3, q. 3, n. 23.
[82] Theol. Moral. lib. 6, tr. 2 De Bapt. dub. 7, par. 4, n. 22.
[83] Theol. Moral. lib. 6, tr. 2 De Bapt. cap. 1, dub. 3.
[84] Thus among others: Bellarmine, Saurez, Gotti, Tournely, Cornelius a Lap. (Rom. 6, 3), Juenin, De Vivo, op. cit.
[85] Bellarmine, Suarez, Gotti, Tournely, Cornelius a Lap. (I Cor. 1, 13), Sylvius, op. cit.
[86] Gotti, op. cit.
[87] Cornelius a Lap. (Rom. 6, 3), Juenin, op. cit.
[88] Saurez, Cornelius a Lap. (Rom. 6, 3), Tournely, Juenin, op. cit.

Apostles may have administered baptism in the form: in nomine Patris et Filii ejus *Jesu Christi* et Spiritus Sancti. Thus Bellarmine (*forsitan*), Cornelius a Lap. (*probabile*), Elbel (*verosimilius*), Ferraris, Suarez (*potest*).[89] This goes to show that in spite of their diverse interpretations, the scholastics could not escape the thought that the Acts and St. Paul' are to all appearances opposed to the trinitariam text of Matthew, and that they presuppose a different formula for baptism than that of Matthew.

3. *The Modern Traditional View.*

The modern traditional view is practically the same as that of the later scholastics. The prevalent opinion is that the Apostles, too, used the trine form, and never baptised in the name of Jesus alone. This opinion is held by Bingham,[90] Binterim,[91] Corblet,[92] C. Pesch,[93] Knoll,[94] Hurter,[95] Weiss,[96] Pohle-Preuss,[97] Scavini,[98] Van der Velden,[99] Liebermann,[100] Heinrich,[101] Kenrick,[102] Van Noort,[103] Cornely,[104] Knabenbauer,[105] Fanning,[106] Breen,[107] Vacant,[108] Esser,[109] Wilhelm-Scannell,[110] Plummer,[111] Bartmann,[112] Diekamp,[113] Bellamy,[114] Lepin,[115] and others.

[89] All in the works cited above.
[90] The Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. 1, Bk. XI, cap. 3, p. 484.
[91] Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche, I Bd. I Theil, p. 132.
[92] Histoire Du Sacrement De Baptême, p. 287 sq.
[93] Prael. Dogm., 6, n. 380.
[94] Institut. Theol. p. 177 sq.
[95] Theol. Spec. p. 228, n. 356.
[96] Art. Taufte in Kraus's Realencyclop. p. 829 sq.
[97] The Sacraments I, 224.
[98] Theol. Moral. 3, n. 205, q. 2.
[99] De Bapt. tr. 3, cap. 2, n. 82.
[100] Institut. Theol. p. 418, n. 134 to p. 421, n. 136.
[101] Dogm. Theol. 9, 282 sqq.
[102] Theol. Dogm. p. 14, n. 54 resp.
[104] Cursus SS ad I Cor. 1, 17.
[103] De Sacram. p. 144, n. 187, Scholion.
[105] Cursus SS ad Mt. 28, 19.
[106] Art. Baptism in Catholic Encyclopedia.
[107] A Harm. Expos. of the Four Gospels, 4, 667.
[108] Art. Baptême au nome de Jesus in Vigoroux's Dict. de la Bible.
[109] Art. Taufe in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlex.
[110] Manual of Cath. Theol. 2, 384.
[111] Art. Baptism IV The History of Christian Bapt. in Hasting's Dict. of the Bible.
[112] Lehrbuch der Dogmatik 2, 268-272.
[113] Katholishe Dogmatik 3, 73 sq.
[114] Art. I Baptême dans la sainte Écriture 3. La formule du baptême s. v. Baptême in Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique (Vacant & Mangenot).
[115] Art. Évangiles Canoniques, n. 45, La formule trinitaire du baptême Mt. 28, 19, in Dict. Apologétique de la Foi Catholique (A. D'Alès).

Concerning the apostolic dispensation, C. Pesch says: "*dispensatio specialis pro temporibus Apostolorum gratis fingitur*";[116] Knabenbaur calls it an opinion, "*quae hodiedum apud theologos merito est explosa*";[116] Van Noort: "*est merito antiquata, quia fundamento caret*";[116] Heinrich: "*eine unnöthige und unbegründete Erfinding*";[116] Vacant: "*cette opinion est generalment rejetée aujourd' hui*".[116] Tanquerey is the only author, to my knowledge, who puts the opinion of the older scholastics, (which he calls the opinion of St. Thomas) on an equal footing with the other, and dares to call them both "*sententia communis*".[117]

These authors explain the passages in the Acts in practically the same manner as the later scholastics. Baptism in the name of Christ, they say, may mean the baptism instituted by Christ, administered in the person of Christ, thru which the recipient is received into the faith and the Church of Christ, or baptism which was administered after a public profession of faith in Christ.

In spite of the almost unanimous consent of the modern traditionalists regarding the use of the baptismal formula, we find a few non-catholic authors, who try to reconcile the passages in Acts and St. Paul with St. Matthew, by supposing that the Apostles made use of a dual form,—a christological form for the Jews, and a trinitarian form for the Gentiles. The Jews, they claim, already belonged to the Father, since they had been consecrated to his service by circumcision. Hence it sufficed for them to be baptised merely in the name of Jesus, in order that they might acknowledge him as their Messiah and God; and in this profession of faith in Jesus, was virtually contained their belief in the Father and the Holy Ghost. The heathens, on the contrary, had not known the Father, since they had worshiped idols of various sorts: neither had they heard of the Holy Ghost; hence they had to be baptised in the trinitarian form.

This explanation is as unfounded and ungrounded as was the divine dispensation invented by the early scholastics. It is defended by Plumptre,[118] Bengel,[119] Trollope,[120] and others.

Concerning the meaning of the words of Matthew: *baptising*

[116] Op. cit.

[117] Theol. Spec. 2, 241, n. 22, 3° Scholion.

[118] The Gospel according to Matthew in Ellicott's Commentary, vol. 1 ad loc.

[119] Bengel-Lewis-Vincent, Gnomon of the NT, vol. 1 ad loc.

[120] Analecta Theol. vol. 1 ad loc.

them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, some authors maintain that they clearly imply that the trinitarian formula should be used in administering baptism. Thus Curci,[121] E. Abbot,[122] Vacant,[123] Kenrick,[124] and moralists generally. They support their contention, however, by the authority of the Fathers and by the praxis of the Church. Esser, C. Pesch, Tanquerey, Liebermann, Heinrich, Breen, Corblet[124] and others, maintain that the words of Matthew do not clearly demand the trine name as the essential form of baptism. They say that this is established, however, by the authority and the praxis of the Church. A number of authors express themselves hypothetically on this point, to wit: if the invocation of the trine name is not certain from Matthew, it is rendered certain by the tradition and by the praxis of the Church. Thus Hurter,[125] MacEvilly,[126] Knabenbauer,[125] and others.

Reviewing the question from the conservative point of view, we find that the official declarations of the Church set down as the essential requirements for the valid administration of the sacrament of baptism: 1) an ablution with water, and 2) an invocation of the Trinity. This invocation of the Trinity is identified with the form: *I baptise thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,* only by Eugene IV in his Bull to the Armenians.

The belief of the older scholastics in a divine dispensation must be discarded as inadequate and arbitrary. The later scholastic and the modern conservative view, which limits the application of Mt. 28, 19 to our present, exact baptismal formula: *I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,* seems just as unsatisfactory, in the light of P. de Puniet's masterfully exact treatise *Baptême,* published 1910 in *Cabrol's Dictionnaire D'Archéologie Chrétienne Et De Liturgie.*[127] P. de Puniet with a wealth of material has made the opinion highly probable that the early Church interpreted the words of Matthew in a different sense; and that the present baptismal formula was not in use

[121] Il Nuovo Testam. vol. 1 ad loc.
[122] Art. Bapt. XI. The formula of Bapt. in SBD, p. 241.
[123] L. c.
[124] Op. cit.
[125] Op. cit.
[126] An Expositon of the Gospels, ad loc.
[127] Col. 251-346; esp. the résumé col. 336-346.

in the first five centuries, its place being supplied by the questions of the ministrant regarding the Trinity and the corresponding answers of the recipient. This view has been accepted unqualifiedly by M. J. Metzger in 1914.[128] It has been lately rejected by two dogmatists, in 1921 by Bernhard Bartmann,[129] and in 1922 by Franz Diekamp.[130]

The difficulties attending the interpretation of Mt. 28, 19 in the light of the texts of the Acts and St. Paul, will never be adequately solved, except, perhaps, along the lines of the new investigation. We must bear in mind that not every time that the Fathers and the Councils speak of the invocation of the Trinity in connection with baptism, our present baptismal formula must necessarily be meant. There is the possibility and probability of the use of a form other than the one with which we are familiar; and this must be considered in any serious attempt to solve the longstanding riddle.

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[128] Zwei Karolingische Pontifikalien vom Oberrhein. Freiburger Theologische Studien. Freiburg im Breisgau. pp. 166-169.

[129] Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, 2, 269 sq.

[130] Katholische Dogmatik, 3, 74.

CHAPTER II

The Radical School

The radical view of the text of Mt. 28, 19 arose in late years. The exponents of this view may be divided into two groups: the negative and the positive. The negative seeks to overthrow the historicity or the authenticity of the text by internal evidence, the positive by external evidence.

1. *The Negative View.*

The negative school of critics build up their theory on the evidence afforded by the literary and historical criticism of parallel passages in the other Gospels, the Book of Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul.

The parallel passages in the other Gospels are Mk. 16, 15-18; Lk. 24, 44-49; Jn. 20, 21-23.

The text of Mark runs: "Going into the whole world, announce the Gospel to every creature. He that believes and is baptised, shall be saved. He that does not believe shall be condemned". Here baptism is indeed mentioned; but nothing is said of the trine form. Then, the conclusion of Mk. 16, 9-20 is regarded by these authors as beyond doubt a patch-work, appended to Mark in place of the original section which has been lost. Thus this passage affords proof that baptism was connected with the preaching of the Gospel at the time in which this section was written; but, even at that, it does not support the trinitarian passage of Matthew.

The corresponding verse in Luke reads: "(He said to them that it is written) that penance should be announced to all the nations in his name unto remission of sins". Consequently nothing is said about baptism. This is considered an especially strong case against the authenticity of Mt. 28, 19; for either Luke knew of the commission to baptise (whether in the trine name or not), and omitted it, or he did not know of it. Had he known of it, it is thought impossible that he should have omitted it.

The text in John is: "He said to them, peace be to you. As the Father has sent me, so I send you". Thus neither does John mention a single word about the commission to baptise. This omission, however, is not held to be as strong an argument against the authenticity or historicity of Mt. 28, 19 as the similar omission

by Luke; since John is thought to show a tendency to omit the material side of the sacramental rites, because of a movement to overemphasize their importance.[1]

The stronghold of the negative view, however, is set in the network of knotted problems suggested by the passages in the Acts and the Letters of St. Paul. These passages seem to point to the earliest form as baptism *in the name of the Lord.* The trine form of baptism, it is upheld, is found in no scripture text outside of Mt. 28, 19; neither is it found in any writing previous to the Didache 7, 1, and Justin's Apology 1, 61. The shorter form on the contrary, is said to have been used by the Apostles (since it alone is mentioned in the Acts and the Letters of St. Paul), by the Christians of the second century, and here and there in the third century.

Is it possible to reconcile these facts with the belief that Christ commanded his disciples to baptise in the trine form? Had Christ given such a command, it is urged, the Apostolic Church would have followed him, and we should have some trace of this obedience in the New Testament. No such trace can be found. The only explanation of this silence, according to the anti-traditional view, is that the short christological formula was original, and the longer trine formula was a later development.

These views are held by Weiss-Eaton,[2] Feine,[3] Riehm,[4] Schenkel,[5] Fisher,[6] Robinson,[7] Scott,[8] Lake,[9] and others.

Another great difficulty in the eyes of these higher critics, is St. Paul's remark in I Cor. 1, 17: *"For Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel".* It is urged with great force that accordingly St. Paul did not consider the administration of baptism as the peculiar function or prerogative of an Apostle, or of any ecclesiastical official;—in fact he was not convinced of the importance of baptism at all. But certainly Paul could not, and would not, have written in such a strain, had Christ given a definite

[1] Cf. K. Lake art. Baptism (Early Christian) in Hasting's ERE, p. 379 sqq.

[2] Bibl. Theol. of NT 1, 187, n. 1.

[3] Theol. des NT, p. 211.

[4] Art. Taufe in Handwörterb. des Bibl. Altherth.

[5] Art. Taufe in Bibel-lexicon, p. 464 sq.

[6] History of Christian Doctrine, p. 46.

[7] Art. Baptism in EB (Cheyne and Black).

[8] Art. Baptism in HBD (I), p. 83.

[9] Art. Baptism in ERE, p. 380 sq.

command to baptise. This point is emphasized by Martineau,[10] Bartlett,[11] McGiffert,[12] Feine,[13] Schenkel,[14] etc.

Then, too, the firm stand which Paul was forced to take against the other Apostles in favor of the pagan missions, is claimed to be entirely unintelligible in the light of Mt. 28, 19; for the solemn command of the Savior contained in that verse, *to make disciples of all the nations and to baptise them,* should have removed every scruple from the minds of the Apostles against Paul's mission.

But, we know from the second chapter of the letter to the Galatians, that the Apostles James, and Cephas, and John were induced to approve Paul's missionary career among the Gentiles, not on account of the command of the risen Savior, but on account of their conviction that the grace of God was with Paul's work. Moreover, if Mt. 28, 19 were authentic, the missionary districts would never have been so divided at the Apostolic Council, that Peter became κατ' ἐξοχὴν the Apostle of the circumcision, and Paul with Barnabas κατ' ἐξοχὴν the Apostle of the Gentiles. This point is brought out especially by Feine.[15]

To these arguments we must add the objections drawn from the doctrine contained in Mt. 28, 19, viz: the doctrine of the universality of salvation, and of the Holy Trinity. Since these dogmas, according to the anti-traditionalists, reached, only at a late period, that stage of development postulated by the words, which Matthew puts on the lips of the risen Savior, their position in the First Gospel is claimed to be a clear instance of historical anachronism. Thus, among others, Martineau, McGiffert, Bartlett, Feine, in the works cited above.

The result of this higher, internal criticism is that some authors deny the authenticity of the text, while others deny merely its historicity. The first class claim that the text in question was added later, at a time when the primitive christological mode of baptising had been replaced by the trinitarian form; consequently, at a time, too, when the doctrine of the Trinity had been fully evolved.

The second class admit that the verse was written by Matthew

[10] The Seat of Authority in Religion, Bk. IV, ch. IV, p. 516.
[11] Art. Baptism NT in ERE, p. 376.
[12] The Apostolic Age, p. 61.
[13] Theol. des NT, p. 213.
[14] Art. Taufe in Bibel-lexicon.
[15] Theol. des NT, p. 212 sq.

(or the writer of the First Gospel), but deny that the words were ever spoken by our Lord. To them the text in dispute crystallises the tendency peculiar to Matthew of "systematising the dogmatic, constitutional, and liturgical relations of the Jewish-christian world, for which he wrote".[16] In their opinion Matthew in this text refers to the Lord and bases on his authority an institution, which was the outgrowth of the private ordinances of the Christian Community.

In either case, however, the value of Mt. 28, 19 as a proof-text for the institution of baptism by Christ is done away with.

2. *The Positive View.*

We now come to the second group in the radical school, composed of those authors, who reject the authenticity of Mt. 28, 19 on account of external evidence: the textual difficulties in the manuscripts, versions and the works of the Fathers. The controversy concerning the authenticity of the text from this angle, may be said to have forced its attention upon the scientific world, with the appearance of F. C. Conybeare's article, entitled *The Eusebian Form of the text Mt. 28, 19,* published in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 1901.*[17]

In this article Conybeare pursues a line of argument, which leads him almost exclusively thru the books of Eusebius of Caesarea. He claims to recognise in these works traces of an earlier form of text than that recorded in our present canonical Gospel. The result of his investigation is, that there are 17 passages scattered thruout the various works of Eusebius, in which Mt. 28, 19 is quoted, not as we have it in the textus receptus, but in the form: πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,—omitting, consequently, every reference to baptism and to the doctrine of the Trinity. The textus receptus, on the other hand, is found in three passages of Eusebius's works; but these, it is emphasized, were written in the last period of his literary activity, which fell after the Council of Nice.

Following in the wake of this discovery, Conybeare finds "two writers earlier than Eusebius", who "shew a knowledge of this shorter form of text", altho "neither of them formally cite the

[16] Holtzmann Neutl. Theol. 1, 449. See also Bartlett, l. c., p. 376; and E. Teichmann, Die Taufe bei Paulus, in Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirch., 1896, p. 357.

[17] Pp. 275-288.

passage, but rather echo it".[18] These two writers are Justin Martyr [19] and Hermas.[20]

In the cursory treatment which he thereupon devotes to the other patristic writings, Conybeare admits that the textus receptus is found in the Latin version of Irenaeus III, 17, 1; in Tertullian *De Baptismo,* ch. 13, and *De Praescriptione,* chs. 8 and 20; in the *Clementine Homilies* XI, 26; in the *Recognitiones,* as translated by Rufinus; and in Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum.*

The testimony of the *Didache* 7, 1 and of the *Acta Thomae* he tries to weaken by the suggestion that the first is suspicious on account of the occurrence in 9, 4 of the phrase: *οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου*; while the latter is balanced by a rival Gnostic formula.

Thus, too, he rejects the testimony of Origen's homilies as translated by Rufinus on the ground that the translation is unreliable; whereas the reference to the use of the trinitarian formula, which Origen has in his Greek *Commentary on John* (tom. VI, par. 17), he says, does not prove that the present text of Mt. 28, 19 was in his copies of the New Testament, anymore than that they were in those of Eusebius; since the passage in question refers to the trine epiclesis, which was used in Origen's akolouthia of baptism.

Passing on to the controversy which raged in the third century between St. Cyprian and Pope Stephen I concerning the baptism of heretics, he explains the position of Stephen of Rome, ("that baptism in the name of Christ alone was quite valid") by the assumption that the text of Mt. 28, 19 had not yet been authoritatively settled by the Church.

The result of this article Conybeare puts in the form of four questions:

"1. Is the Eusebian and Justin's reading of Mt. 28, 19 original?

2. If so, was not the textus receptus created about 130-140?

3. Was it not due to a reaction on the text of Matthew of liturgical, and, specially, of baptismal usage?

4. Did it not arise like the text of the three witnesses in the African Old Latin texts first of all, thence creep into the Greek texts at Rome, and finally establish itself in the East during the Nicene epoch, in time to figure in all surviving codices?"

The following year (1902), Conybeare resumed his thesis in the

[18] L. c. p. 282, n. 26.

[19] Dialogue with Tryphon, 39.

[20] Pastor, Simil. IX, 17, 4.

Hibbert Journal,[21] and presented his conclusions there as peremptory and unanswerable. In fact he shook off the reserve of the guarded scholar, and took on the airs of an infallible dogmatist, when he asserted that he had adduced such weighty patristic evidence against the authenticity of Mt. 28, 19 *"that in future the most conservative of divines"* would *"shrink from resting on it any dogmatic fabric at all, while the more enlightened"* would *"discard it as completely as they have its fellow-text of the three witnesses"*.[22]

In this second article Conybeare emphasizes the advantages which Eusebius enjoyed, living and working as he did in the greatest Christian library of the age, in which Origen and Pamphilus must have collected and sorted manuscripts, ante-dating our oldest uncials by 50-150 years.

It was in these old manuscripts, Conybeare asserts, that Eusebius found the text: πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου; in fact, he continues, Eusebius never heard of any other text, until he visited Constantinople and attended the Council of Nice. Then in two controversial works, written in his extreme old age and entitled, the one *Contra Marcellum*, the other *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, he used the common reading. There is also one other writing, he says, in which the textus receptus occurs, viz: a letter written to his diocese at Caesarea after the Council of Nice; but that portion of it in which the citation occurs, does not seem to be above suspicion.

In two further articles in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*;—one in 1903,[23] the other in 1905,[24]—Conybeare did his best to prove that the books *Contra Marcellum* and *De Ecclesiastica Theologia* were not composed by Eusebius Pamphili (i. e., disciple of Pamphilus), but by Eusebius of Emesa, and also that the trinitarian citation in the *Letter to Caesarea* was interpolated,—thereby ridding himself forever, as he thought, of those conflicting citations in the works of Eusebius, which clashed with his theory, but which could not be brushed aside with good grace as the mere outgrowth of the Nicene influence.

Conybeare was answered by J. R. Wilkinson in the Hibbert

[21] Art. Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels. II. Matthew, 28, 19, pp. 102-108.

[22] L. c.

[23] Art. The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum, pp. 330-334.

[24] Art. The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum, pp. 250-270.

Journal 1903.[25] According to Wilkinson, Conybeare has proved that Eusebius's text read: *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου*; but he has not proved that the Eusebian text omitted the words: *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς κτλ.* He maintains that the form presupposed in the manuscripts known to Eusebius, was: *πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

The theory of Conybeare was furthermore opposed by Riggenbach in the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie VII, I, 1903.*[26] Then again by F. H. Chase in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 1905.[27] These two scholars ably refute Conybeare inch by inch, showing that he had not proved the absence of the baptismal command from the Eusebian text, and that the trinitarian text is commonly attested to by witnesses before Eusebius. The arguments of these two authors have been utilised and well ordered by Lebreton in his work *Les Origines Du Dogme De La Trinité 1910.*[28]

The refutation of Riggenbach and Chase has been accepted by Rose,[29] Zahn,[30] Holtzmann,[31] Feine,[32] E. Schürer,[33] Jacquier,[34] Robinson,[35] Maclean,[36] Lepin,[37] Diekamp,[38] and Lebreton (op. cit.), who mentions also Harnack, R. Seeberg, Swete, Tixeront.

Conybeare's theory, however, has found support with Rashdall,[39] N. Schmidt,[40] Wellhausen,[41] K. Lake.[42] Lebreton mentions besides H. Usener, Loisy and Krüger.

This, then, is the main position of the second group of the

[25] Article in answer to Conybeare, pp. 571-576.
[26] Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl, pp. 7-103; also Nachtrag VIII, p. 105 sq.
[27] The Lord's Command to Baptize (Mt. 28, 19), pp. 481-517.
[28] Pp. 479 sqq.
[29] Évang. selon S. Matt. p. 231.
[30] Evang. Mt. ad loc. p. 720.
[31] Neutl. Theol. pp. 449-450, note 3.
[32] Theol. des NT, p. 211.
[33] Theol. Literaturzeitung 1903, n. 15, pp. 424-426.
[34] Histoire des Livres Du Nt 1905, 2, 498 sq.
[35] JThSt. 1905 In the name, p. 186.
[36] Art. Baptism 4. Formula of Baptism in Hasting's DAC, p. 130 A.
[37] Art. Évangiles Canoniques, n. 45, La formule trinitaire du baptême in Dict. Apol. de la foi Cath.
[38] Op. cit. p. 230 sq.
[39] JThSt 1901-2, Art. Dr. Moberly's Theory of the Atonement, p. 181.
[40] Art. Son of God in EB, p. 4699.
[41] Das Evan. Matth. ad loc.
[42] Art. Baptism (Early Christian) in ERE.

radical school. Tho this group differs in method from the first, the result of their investigation is practically the same as that of the former. In either case,—whether Mt. 28, 19 is considered unauthentic, or merely unhistorical, — the text cannot be used to prove that Christ instituted baptism. How then did Christian baptism arise?

None of these authors deny the fact that baptism was practiced in the earliest Christian community.[43] The evidence of the Acts does not permit such a denial. Was this practice, then, based on an explicit command of the Lord, or did it have its origin elsewhere?

The majority of the anti-traditionalists maintain that Christian baptism was instituted by Christ at least in a general way,—certainly not in the trinitarian form. A few, more radical, however, even deny the institution by Christ, and suggest that baptism was an already existing custom, which the Church took over from the beginning.[44]

The nature of our present work will not allow us to present a detailed study of the problems encircling the text of Matthew both from the conservative and the radical point of view. But since it will be impossible to enter upon a study of the interpretation of the text, before its authenticity is established, and since it is not advisable to consider the arguments of higher criticism before the difficulties of textual criticism have been duly examined, we shall limit the scope of the present writing to a detailed consideration of the difficulties advanced by the positive group of the radical school, as it is represented in the articles of F. C. Conybeare from 1901 to 1905,—with special reference to the works of Eusebius, since his writings form the marrow of that attack. This is made all the more necessary by the fact that Conybeare's last article of 1905, has been answered merely by one person, to my knowledge, G. Loeschcke, who wrote an able, but brief refutation to Conybeare, in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 1906*, entitled *Contra Marcellum, eine Schrift des Eusebius von Caesarea* (pp. 69-76). We shall consider first the evidence of the manuscripts and versions, and then the citations in the works of Eusebius.

[43] See Feine Art. Taufe I. Schriftlehre I. Ursprung und Übung, in Realencyclop. für protestantische Theol. und Kirche³, p. 398.

[44] Cf. Lake and Holtzmann, op. cit.

PART II

THE LORD'S COMMAND TO BAPTISE IN EUSEBIUS

PRELIMINARY NOTE

Manuscripts and Versions

To one who is at all acquainted with the present controversy regarding Mt. 28, 19, it comes as a distinct surprise that the evidence of the manuscripts and versions is overwhelmingly in favor of the authenticity of the passage. The verse as a whole is contained in all extant manuscripts and versions with the exception of Syr. Sinaiticus, Syr. Curetonianus and Bobiensis. These manuscripts are fragmentary in many parts. The Gospel of Matthew in Syr. Sinaiticus ends with chapter 28, verse 7; the rest of the Gospel has been lost.[1] Curetonianus stops at chapter 23, verse 25.[2] Bobiensis has nothing after chapter 15, verse 36.[3]

In view of this almost unanimous consensus of the manuscripts, it is rather surprising to find men of such undoubted scholarship as F. C. Conybeare [4] and K. Lake,[5] trying to minimise the weight of this evidence, by emphasizing the defect of the oldest African and Syrian manuscripts at this point.

The fact that Curetonian has nothing in Matthew after 23, 25, and Bobiensis nothing after 15, 36, cannot even by the wildest stretch of the imagination be ascribed to the vandalistic efforts of a "dominant party", who purposely sought to suppress a more ancient, and therefore presumably untrinitarian reading of Mt. 28, 19.

The case of Siniaticus, it is true, is somewhat different. Here the last folio is missing; but, even at that, there is no reason to assume that this was done on purpose, and was not due rather to the ravages of time. In itself this defect in Sinaiticus, and *a fortiori* in Curetonianus and Bobiensis is neither an argument for,

[1] Cf. The Four Gospels in Syriac, Translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, by Bensley, Harris and Burkitt, 1894.

[2] Cf. Remains of a Very Antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, by W. Cureton, 1858; also Evangelion Da-Mepharresche, by F. C. Burkitt, 1904.

[3] Old Latin Biblical Texts No. II, by John Wordsworth, W. Sanday and H. J. White, Oxford, 1886.

[4] Hibbert Journal art. Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels, 1902, p. 108.

[5] Article Baptism (Early Christian) in ERE, p. 379.

nor against, the authenticity of the textus receptus, and does not in the least affect the testimony of the other manuscripts.

If we be allowed any conjecture regarding the original reading of the text in Bobiensis, we should certainly decide in favor of the traditional reading, since this reading is found in Palatinus and in the biblical citations of St. Cyprian, with which Bobiensis has clear affinities.[6] The same may be said of Syr. Sinaiticus and Curetonianus, since the textus receptus is found in Tatian's Diatessaron.[7]

But according to Conybeare such an argument is inadmissible; for long before the year 400 "the question of the inclusion of the Holy Spirit on equal terms in the Trinity had been threshed out, and a text so invaluable to the dominant party could not but make its way into every codex, irrespectively of its textual affinities".[8]

No better reply could be made to such a dogmatic statement than that of F. H. Chase in the *Journal of Theological Studies, 1905,*[9] viz: "all the surviving Greek codices were not produced by a band of conspirators. They grew up naturally in different portions of the Greek-speaking Church. An interpolation could not be thus foisted into the text of the Gospels, and all evidence of its true character be obliterated".

Were Conybeare's statement correct, that our present textus receptus is the result of a systematic suppression of an earlier, untrinitarian text,—a suppression carried on so thoroly, so universally, and so ruthlessly as not to leave a single trace of the original text in any existing manuscript or version, we should be confronted by a marvel unparalleled in the history of our text-transmission. We have clear instances of interpolations in our accepted text, some dating back to very ancient times; yet the evidence of the manuscripts have preserved for us the original along with the interpolated.

Let us take the well-known case of the Three Witnesses (I John 5, 7. 8), which Conybeare asserts has now been "abandoned by all

[6] Cf. the detailed study on the relation between Bobiensis, Palatinus and St. Cyprian, by W. Sanday, in Old Latin Biblical Texts: No. II, Oxford, 1886, Introduction XLIII-CLXVI.

[7] Cf. the critical apparatus of H. J. Vogels Novum Test. graece 1920 ad loc.; also, the Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. IX, New York, 1896, p. 128.

[8] Hibbert Journal, 1902, p. 108, Three Early Modif. of the Texts of the Gospels.

[9] The Lord's Command To Baptize, p. 499.

authorities except the Pope of Rome".[10] This text is found in one Old Latin manuscript (r), in most of the manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate (but not in the best as Amiatinus and Fuldensis), in some African Latin Fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries, and in the Spanish writer Priscillian (d. 385). The only authority for the Greek text are two cursive manuscripts (162. 34), belonging respectively to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[11] Yet despite this feeble support in the manuscripts, Conybeare does not hesitate to set this text as a parallel alongside of Mt. 28, 19.

Then again there is the passage in Acts 8, 37, in which a question is proposed by the deacon Philip and a confession of faith is made by the Eunuch in imitation of later baptismal practice. This interpolation goes back to earliest antiquity; yet we know that its chief support in the manuscripts is had in Laudianus of the sixth century, in the Old Latin and in the Syrian Harcleian Version.[12]

Consequently the case of Mt. 28, 19 inasfar as the manuscripts and versions are concerned, must be judged to be exceptionally strong. "It is only when we shut our eyes to facts that we can persuade ourselves or allow ourselves to be persuaded, that it was possible for words to have been interpolated into the text of the Gospels, without a trace of their true character surviving in the manuscripts and versions".[13]

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[10] Hibbert Journal, 1902, p. 102.

[11] Cf. F. H. Chase, JThSt, 1905, p. 498; also H. J. Vogels, Nov. Test. graece ad loc.

[12] Cf. H. J. Vogels, l. c.; also Chase, l. c.

[13] F. H. Chase, l. c., p. 499.

CHAPTER I

State of the Problem

The main basis for Conybeare's attack against the textus receptus, however, is furnished by the citations of Mt. 28, 19 in the writings of the Fathers, and preponderantly in the works of Eusebius, surnamed Pamphili, the most learned scripture scholar in the early fourth century (265-339). Since F. H. Chase and especially E. Riggenbach have clearly established the existence of the received text in manuscripts of the New Testament, known to writers before Eusebius, we shall limit ourselves to Eusebius's writings, and submit his works to a thoro examination.

We can distinguish three principal forms, in which Eusebius cites the words of Mt. 28, 19:

1. Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,
2. Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,
3. Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

The first form is found in:

1.	Dem. Evang.	1	3	MG	22	40 A;
2.	" "	1	4	"	"	44 B;
3.	" "	1	6	"	"	68 A;
4.	Comm. in Ps.	46	4	"	23	416 A;
5.	" " "	95	3	"	"	1221 C;
6.	De Eccles. Theol.	3	3	"	24	989 A;
7.	Syriac Theoph.	3	4	Gressmann		129*;

Numbers 1, 2, 3 add to this form: διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

The second form occurs in:

8.	Hist. Eccles.	3	5	MG	20	221 C;
9.	De Laud. Const.	16		"	"	1425 C;
10.	Dem. Evan.	3	6	"	22	233 A;
11-13.	" " (thrice)	3	7	"	"	240 A-C; 241 D;
14.	" "	9		"	"	692 D;
15.	Comm. in Ps.	59	9	"	23	569 C;
16.	" "	65	5	"	"	653 D;
17.	" "	67	34	"	"	720 C;
18.	" "	76	20	"	"	900 C;

19. Comm. in Is.	18	20	MG	23	900 C;
20. " "	34	16	"	"	337 C;
21. Syriac Theoph.	4	16	ed. Gressmann		189*;
22. " "	5	17	"		228*;
23. " "	5	46	"		252*;
24. " "	5	49	"		255*;

Number 10 and 22 add to this citation: διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

The third form is used in:

25. Contra Marcell.	1	1	MG	24	716 B;
26. " "	1	1	"	"	728 C;
27. De Eccles. Theol.	3	5	"	"	1013 A;
28. Syriac Theoph.	4	8	ed. Gressmann		177*;
29. Epistola ad Caesarea.			(Socrates H. E. 1 8)		
			MG	67	72 A;
		also	"	20	1537 C.

In view of these facts it is clear, that if the citations of the third group are authentic, and if the works in which they appear were written by Eusebius, the conclusion must follow that Eusebius was acquainted with the traditional text, and regarded it as an authentic part of Matthew's Gospel. The force of this conclusion did not escape Conybeare's notice; accordingly in his articles of 1901[1] and 1902,[2] he attributed the presence of the received text in the later books of Eusebius, to the influence of the Council of Nice, claiming that before the Council Eusebius knew the text only in the form: Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

This claim seems to be borne out by the fact, that the treatises in which the textus receptus occurs, were all written after the Council of Nice. But when we bear in mind that out of the 24 passages of the first two groups, the two from the *Commentary on Isaias* are of uncertain date, the eight from the *Dem. Evang.* were written before 311, the one from the *Hist. Eccles.* about 313, whereas the remaining thirteen were written after the Council, viz: six from the *Commentary on the Psalms after 330,*[3] five from the

[1] ZNTW: The Eusebian Form of the Text Mt. 28, 19, p. 288.

[2] The Hibbert Journal: Three Early Modifications of the Text of the Gospel. II Mt. 28, 19, pp. 102-6.

[3] A. Harnack, Die Chronologie d. Altchrist. Literatur bis Eusebius II, 2, Leipzig, 1904, p. 123, n. 20.

Theophany about 333[4], one from the *De Laudibus Constantini 337*,[5] and one from the *De Eccles. Theol.* 337/8,[6]—it must be granted that the Council of Nice did not influence Eusebius one way or the other. He uses both forms after the Council, sometimes in the very same book (cf. *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 3 and 3, 5).

It was probably the strained and halting state of this argument that induced Conybeare in 1903[7] to attack Eusebius's authorship of the *Contra Marcellum* and the *De Eccles. Theol.*, and to continue that attack in 1905[8] also against the *Letter to the Church in Caesarea.* Since it is of vital importance to know whether these works were actually written by Eusebius or not, we shall consider the question of their authorship here.

First, let us remark, that the received text occurs also in the *Syriac Theophany,* which has come down to us entire, and which A. Harnack thinks[9] was a synchronous translation of the Greek original, of which we have at present many fragments.[10] Now, despite the fact that the Syriac translator is so slavishly true to the original Greek that he does violence to the Syriac idiom,—so much so in fact, that as Gressmann remarks,[11] it is necessary at times to retranslate the text into the Greek to get at the sense of the translation,—still for the sake of argument we shall waive the evidence of this translation, since Conybeare accuses the translator of *"garbling his text"*,[12] and of copying the five verses in 4, 8 from the Syriac Vulgate in order to save himself labor.[13]

[4] Hugo Gressmann, Studien zu Eusebs Theophanie TU, Leipzig, 1903. Neue Folge, VIII Bd. 3. Heft, p. 42; also his edition of the Theophany in, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller Eusebius' Werke, III Bd. 2. Hälfte, p. xx, 1904.

[5] A. Harnack, l. c. p. 115; Gressmann, however, in Studien zu Eusebs Theophanie TU, p. 39, thinks it was 335.

[6] A. Harnack, l. c. p. 125, n. 27.

[7] ZNTW: The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum, pp. 330-334.

[8] ZNTW: The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum, pp. 250-270.

[9] L. c. p. 120, n. 14.

[10] Samuel Lee published the Syriac text at London, 1842, and an English translation at Cambridge, 1843. A collection of the Greek fragments was published in 1847 by Angelo Mai in his Bibliotheca Nova Patrum IV; these fragments are reprinted in Migne PG, 24, 609-690. In 1904 Hugo Gressmann published a critical German translation of the Syriac Theophany.

[11] L. c. p. xxiv.

[12] ZNTW, 1901, p. 279, note 1.

[13] ZNTW, 1901, p. 281, n. 24; also ZNTW, 1905, p. 267.

CHAPTER II

The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum and the Letter to the Church of Caesarea

1. *The Contra Marcellum.*

Accordingly we come to the five books *Contra Marcellum,* the first two of which are commonly called *Contra Marcellum,* the last three *De Ecclesiastica Theologia.* Conybeare's main argument in his article of 1903 [1] against Eusebius's authorship of these books, is briefly the following:

The writer of the *Contra Marcellum* [2] quotes a letter of Marcellus. Epiphanius,[3] also, quotes a letter of Marcellus to Julius, Bishop of Rome. A comparison of the two letters proves them to be identical. Now, the letter of Marcellus to Julius was written in 340. Therefore, the work *Contra Marcellum* in which this letter appears, and the treatise *De Ecclesiastica Theologia,* which followed the former work, could not have been written by Eusebius of Caesarea, since he died in 338 or 339. Consequently, the five books were written by some other author; the dedication of the last three books to Flacillus, indicates Eusebius of Emesa as the author.

Setting aside the fact that C. P. Caspari in his work *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols Und der Glaubensregel* [4] brings reasons which cause him to fix the date of the letter of Marcellus to Julius as most probably 337 or 338 (reasons which A. Harnack approves),[5] and meeting Conybeare for the time being on his own ground (as F. H. Chase does in his article of 1905,[6] admitting as he does that the passage in question is a letter of *Marcellus*), we must still say that the two letters far from being identical are entirely different in form. This is evident from a comparison of the creed contained in either letter, and to which the citation in

[1] ZNTW, pp. 330-334.

[2] I, 4, MG, 24, 752 B, sq.

[3] Haer. 72, 2 sq. MG, 42, 384, C sq.

[4] III Bd. Christiana, 1875, note 60, pp. 28-30.

[5] L. c. p. 544, n. 4.

[6] JThSt, the Authorship of the Contra Marcellum and the De Ecclesiastica Theologia, pp. 512-517.

the *Contra Marcellum* is practically limited. The creeds here follow side by side:

I	II
Contra Marcellum	Epiphanius
He wrote . . . (that he) believes in God Father Almighty (*πατέρα θεὸν παντοκράτορα*) and in his Son, the only begotten God (*τὸν μονογενῆ θεόν*), our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.	I believe therefore in God Almighty and Christ Jesus, his only begotten Son, our Lord. . . And in the Holy Ghost.

To anyone who bears in mind the stereotyped forms of the old symbols of faith, it will be at once evident that these two creeds are not identical. We notice first of all the insertion of *πατέρα* in the first creed; then the different order in which the titles of Jesus Christ follow: I has: "and in his Son, the only begotten *GOD*, our Lord Jesus Christ"; whereas II has: "and in Christ Jesus, his only begotten Son our Lord". The occurrence of "the only begotten *GOD*" in I is especially striking.

But the passage in the *Contra Marcellum*, as A. Harnack[7] and Bethune-Baker[8] point out, is not at all a letter of Marcellus. Conybeare read the passage in Gaisford's edition, which indeed gives it as a citation from Marcellus; so also does the edition of Migne. But the context shows that Eusebius begins his citation from the book of Marcellus with the sentence preceding the creed; and the passage in question is in turn a citation which Marcellus makes from a letter of Asterius, whom he is opposing.

Eusebius introduces the citation thus: *Γράφει δ' οὖν ὀνομαστί, κακῶς μνημονεύων ἁπάντων, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.* Then follows the excerpt from Marcellus's book, which goes from: *Ἀρξομαι τοίνυν . . .* to . . . *καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὡσαύτως.* Thereupon Eusebius resumes the discourse: *Ταῦτα ὁ Μάρκελλος πρὸς Ἀστέριον κτλ.* It was divided in this way already in the edition of Rettberg 1794, and was emphasized by Montacutius,[9] and has been adopted by Erich Klostermann in his edition of 1906.[10]

Conybeare himself saw his error and admitted it in his article

[7] L. c. p. 544 sq. n. 4.

[8] JThSt, 1905, pp. 517-521.

[9] MG, 24, 752, note 1.

[10] Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller Eusebius' Werke, IV Bd. Leipzig, 1906. His apparatus criticus gives Th. Zahn, Marcellus von Ancyra, 1867, p. 54, as holding the same view.

of 1905.[11] However he continued to oppose Eusebius's authorship on different grounds. This new attack was answered briefly by G. Loeschcke.[12]

Conybeare's trend of thought in the article of 1905 is this: Even tho the passage in *Contra Marcellum* 1, 4 does not refer to the letter which Marcellus wrote to Pope Julius in 340, still the opening lines of the second book of the same work clearly show that the author of the *Contra Marcellum* knew that letter, and was aware of the resultant deception it practiced on the Pope. Hence Eusebius Pamphili cannot be the author.

In answer to this we must say that the first two books of the *Contra Marcellum* form one unit, since they were written at the same time against Marcellus; and any expression occurring in them, must be explained and interpreted in the light of the whole. It is an arbitrary, unpardonable procedure to segregate any one passage from its context, and to read into it a meaning unwarranted by that context.

Now, in the opening chapter of the *Contra Marcellum,* Book 1, we are told that the author is refuting a treatise written by Marcellus,—in fact the only treatise which Marcellus ever wrote (ἔν τουτὶ γράψας καὶ μόνον . . . σύγγραμμα).[13] This σύγγραμμα is shortly afterward called φραφή,[14] and much later in the second book it is called γράμμα.[15] In this treatise, we are informed, Marcellus calumniates both the living and the dead, and even subjects the Son of God to blasphemy. It is the author's purpose to refute his slanders and to expose his blasphemies, from his own words. But before taking up this program, he devotes two chapters, the second and the third, in destroying his readers' confidence in Marcellus's orthodoxy and intellectual ability. Thereupon he proceeds, in chapter 4, to consider the slanders against Asterius, the Great Eusebius, Paulinus, Origen, Narcissus and "the other Eusebius".

Then comes the second book, the four chapters of which are devoted to an exposure of Marcellus's blasphemies against the Son of God. It is in the opening lines of this book that Conybeare

[11] ZNTW: The Authorship of the Contra Marcellum, n. 1, p. 250.

[12] ZNTW, 1906: Contra Marcellum, eine Schrift des Eusebius von Caesarea, pp. 69-76.

[13] MG, 24, 712 A. However this statement does not seem probable. Cf. the note in Migne.

[14] MG, 24, 713 A.

[15] MG, 24, 824 B.

detects an acquaintance on the part of the author with Marcellus's letter to Julius. Conybeare renders these lines thus: "The time has now come for us to bring to light this Galatian's infidelity, and lay naked the kakodoxy, which has so long lurked in the hypocrite's breast, by passing behind him a little and stripping him of the mask which in the *epistle* he has assumed. Thus we shall shew to all from his own very words what sort of qualifications he possessed to lead and guide the Church of Christ" (*Τὴν τοῦ Γαλάτου πίστιν, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τὴν εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καιρὸς ἤδη καλεῖ, μετὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαβληθέντων, εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν· καὶ τὴν χρόνοις μακροῖς ἐνδομυχήσασαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ κακοδοξίαν, βραχὺ περιελθόντας τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προσχήματος ἀπογυμνῶσαι· δεῖξαι τε τοῖς πᾶσι διὰ τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ φωνῶν μαρτυρίας οἷος τις ὤν, τῆς Χριστοῦ καθηγεῖτο Ἐκκλησίας ἄνθρωπος κτλ*).[16]

In this translation Conybeare has omitted the words, which intimately connect the opening lines of the second book with the closing lines of the first. These words are: *μετὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαβληθέντων*—"after our exposure of his slanders". Moreover he has translated "*the hypocrite's breast*" where the text has merely *τῷ ἀνδρί*. Then the phrase, *βραχὺ περιελθόντας τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προσχήματος ἀπογυμνῶσαι*, he has rendered: "by *passing behind* him a little and stripping him of the mask, which in the epistle he has assumed". A better translation would have been: "and by a brief *paraphrase* to strip it of its mask (?) in the letter" . . .

Πρόσχημα may mean a screen, mask, disguise; it may also mean ornament, outward show, outward pomp, outward appearance. Retaining the meaning of 'mask' (altho this hardly seems correct, as will appear later), we can render the passage with more justice to the original, thus: "*After our exposure of his slanders,* it is now time for us to bring to light this Galatian's faith, or *rather lack of faith in the Son of God,* and by a *brief paraphrase* to strip the erroneous opinion, which has lurked within the man for a long time, of its mask (?) in the letter, and to show by his own very words what sort of qualifications he possessed to lead and guide the Church of Christ".

Conybeare in his translation has stressed Marcellus's hypocrisy to a degree which is not warranted by the text. The only words in the text which bespeak hypocrisy are: *καὶ τὴν χρόνοις μακροῖς*

[16] L. c. n. 6, p. 255.

ἐνδομυχήσασαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ κακοδοξίαν, "the erroneous opinion, or kakodoxy, which for a long time has lurked within the man"; and possibly also the word πρόσχημα (mask?). Coupling this hypocrisy with the ἐπιστολή, Conybeare asserts that we have a clear reference to Marcellus's letter to Julius in 340.

This statement, however, does not bear investigation. For, in the fourth chapter of the same second book, the author tells us: "It is necessary to soothe the suspicion of our brethren, by clearly demonstrating the lack of faith in the Son of God, which has lurked within him for a long time, but which *now has been convincingly established by his own writing*". This writing, we are further told, Marcellus presented to the emperor Constantine; but he turned it over to the synod at Constantinople, where it was condemned in 336.

Here again Conybeare faultily translates the original. He renders it: "we must heal away the suspicion of our brethren by clearly demonstrating the want of a belief in the Son of God, which so long had lurked in him, and *of which I have now convicted him out of his own book*".[17] This is not at all the sense of the Greek. The text runs: Χρὴ γὰρ ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδελφῶν ὑπόνοιαν, διὰ τοῦ φανερὰν καταστῆσαι τὴν μακροῖς μὲν χρόνοις ἐμφωλεύσασαν[18] αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπιστίαν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐληλεγμένην διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ γραφῆς.

Ἐληλεγμένην is the perf. part. pass. of ἐλέγχω and refers to ἀπιστίαν; the lack of faith, which has lurked within him for a long time, has finally (νυνί) been brought to light and convincingly established (ἐληλεγμένην) by his own writing. We must bear in mind that it is Marcellus's own writing, and not the author of the *Contra Marcellum,* that has brought Marcellus's kakodoxy to light.

Consequently, the long period in which Marcellus cradled his infidelity within his breast, must be understood as the period previous to his condemnation at Constantinople in 336. Consequently, too, the letter (ἐπιστολή) in the opening chapter of book 2, cannot refer to Marcellus's letter of 340; but it is the same σύγγραμμα, γραφὴ and γράμμα of which the author speaks in other places. This last statement will become more evident, if we study the opening lines of book 2 in relation to book 1.

[17] L. c. VIII, p. 256.

[18] Thus in the edition of E. Klostermann; Migne's ἐμφωλεύσαμεν is meaningless, and evidently a mistake.

In 1, 1 the author states that he is refuting the *only treatise which Marcellus ever wrote.* This treatise is composed of *slanders against holy men* and of *blasphemies against the Son of God.* He intends to refute these slanders and blasphemies *with Marcellus's own words.* In 1, 4 he takes up the slanders against Asterius and the others. Then at the end of 1, 4 he clearly introduces the second part of his program with the words: "We hasten on to unveil the strange language of Marcellus concerning the Son of God, in order that all might know what he thinks of the Son of God".

These are the last words of book 1. On them follow immediately the words of book 2: "*After our exposure of his slanders,* it is now time for us to bring to light this Galatian's faith, or rather *lack of faith in the Son of God,* and by a brief paraphrase strip the erroneous opinion, which has lurked within the man for a long time, of its mask (?) in the letter, *and to show by his own very words* what sort of qualifications he possessed to lead and guide the Church of Christ".

If we read these words in the light of book 1, the only alternative left for us is that the ἐπιστολὴ here is the identical piece of work, which in other places the author calls σύγραμμα, γραφὴ and γράμμα. The fact that such a lengthy treatise as that of Marcellus could have been called a letter, need not surprise us. In the fourth chapter of book 2 we are told, that Marcellus himself presented his book to Constantine, in the hope that he would approve of it on account of the flattery and the many encomiums of the emperor, which it contained. Hence either the book was written in the form of a letter to Constantine, as Loeschcke thinks,[19] or it was prefixed by a dedicatory epistle to the emperor, as Th. Zahn prefers.[19] We have similar lengthy treatises in the shape of letters; as for instance, St. Athanasius's work: De Synodis, which is called Epistola De Synodis Arimini in Italia etc.; also his four Epistolae ad Serapionem, and especially his history of the Arians, which is prefixed by an Epistola ad Monachos.

Since the ἐπιστολὴ is evidently identical with the σύγγραμμα, it seems hardly plausible that the πρόσχημα ἐπιστολῆς should mean the 'mask of the letter'. This would contradict the statement in 2, 4 that Marcellus's kakodoxy is established *by his own book.*

[19] ZNTW, 1906, p. 72 sq.

It was not Marcellus's design in his book to 'mask' his doctrines, but to propagate them against Asterius and his friends. Therefore 'outward appearance', or 'outward pomp' would fit in better with the context; and the phrase would then read: "and by a brief paraphrase to strip the erroneous opinion, which for a long time has lurked within the man, of its outward pomp in the letter".

But Conybeare has another argument. In 2, 4 the author says that he was induced to compose this treatise, in order to uphold the decisions of the synod of Constantinople in 336, against those persons who thought that Marcellus had been treated unjustly. But, he says, it was not necessary before 340, to come forward and defend the decisions of the synod; because it was only in the winter of 340, that Julius convened a counter-synod at Rome to repeal the decision of 336, by acquitting Marcellus of heresy and admitting him to communion. This is the more evident, he continues, because after 336 Marcellus's cause in the east was dead; and there was no need of refuting him until the Pope took up his cause.[20]

Let us first of all examine the passage in question. I shall give it in full as it is important in deciding the time, in which the *Contra Marcellum* was written. It runs thus: "It was but reasonable that these doctrines should move the truly religious and thrice blessed emperor against the man, even tho he flattered him in countless ways, and had inserted many encomiums on him in his treatise. These doctrines, too, forced the sacred synod, which gathered in the imperial city from various provinces, from Pontus and Cappodocia, Asia and Phrygia and Bithynia, Thrace and the regions beyond, to brand the man, even against its own will, by the document drawn up against him. These doctrines have compelled us, also, to undertake this present treatise, that on the one hand we might uphold the decisions of the sacred synod, and on the other that we might obey our fellow-ministrants, who ordered us to take the work in hand (*Ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν μετὰ χεῖρα ἐξέτασιν προελθεῖν κατηνάγκισεν, ὁμοῦ δὲ τοῖς δόξασιν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρισταμένους, ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς προστάξασι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι τὸ ἱκανον ποιουμένους*).

And I think it especially needful that this document be published, for the sake of those persons who think that the man has been dealt with unjustly. (*Μάλιστα δέ μοι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τὸ γράμμα διὰ τοὺς ἠδικῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα νενομικότας*). For it

[20] L. c. nn. viii, ix, pp. 256-258.

is necessary to soothe the suspicion of our brethern by clearly demonstrating the want of faith in the Son of God, which has lurked within him for a long time, but which now has been convincingly established by his own writing.

At nobody's suggestion, but of his own accord, he took this writing and presented it to the emperor, with the request that he should peruse its contents, hoping, too, perhaps, that he might enjoy the emperor's protection on account of his encomiums, whereas the bishops whom he had slandered might be punished. But the result was not according to his hopes. For God was the judge in this affair; and Christ Jesus himself, who has been despised by the writer, and who takes in at a glance the secrets of this man's heart, has brought it about that he became his own accuser and prosecutor, even tho there was no one to egg him on. Accordingly when he approached the emperor, pluming himself on his writing, the emperor referred the decision as to its contents to the synod. But the sacred synod of God rejected it; and rightly, since he professes impious beliefs in the origin and the end of the Son of God".

Conybeare here again joins the deception, spoken of in the passage, to the suspicion of the brethern, who sided with Marcellus, or at least favored him, and refers both to the letter and the Roman synod of 340. But he again oversteps the mark, and draws inferences not warranted by the text. Marcellus's infidelity which has skulked in secret for so long a time, has been brought to light by his own book; hence the deception of which the author speaks, must be understood to refer to a time previous to the year 336.

Moreover, it is untrue to say that Marcellus's cause was dead in the east after 336, and that consequently "the brethern who thought that he had been treated unjustly" must refer to Marcellus's sympathisers of the west in the year 340. This statement is refuted by the text itself, viz: "These doctrines, too, forced the synod, *even against its will,* to brand the man by the document drawn up against him" (Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον στηλιτεύειν τὸν ἄνδρα, διὰ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ Γραφῆς, καὶ μὴ θέλουσαν, ἐξεβιάζετο). If therefore, the synod of Constantinople condemned Marcellus *unwillingly,* we are certainly justified in concluding that there was a party at the synod in his favor, who opposed his condemnation as unjust, and who continued their sympathy for him later.

This view is confirmed by Sozomenus *Hist. Eccles. 2, 33* (MG 67 1029 A-C). Concerning the action of the bishops at Constan-

tinople in 336, he has this to say: "The bishops wrote to the Churches of Galatia, enjoining that the book of Marcellus should be sought out and destroyed, and that as many as they found with similar views, they should convert. And they indicated that on account of the length of Marcellus's treatise, they could not subjoin the entire book; but they inserted some excerpts in their letter to prove that he really held these doctrines. *For it was being said among some,* that Marcellus had proposed these things tentatively, whereas the Eusebians had slandered him even to the emperor as if he had asserted them positively". (Ἐλέγετο δὲ πρός τινων, ταῦτα ὡς ἐν ζητήσει εἰρῆσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ, καὶ ὡς ὡμολογημένα διαβεβλῆσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐσέβιον).

If we need any more proof, we might quote the letter of Pope Julius, written 340 to Danius, Flacillus and the other bishops of Antioch.[21] In this letter the Pope inveighs against the bishops for receiving the Arians in their midst, whose heresy had been condemned by the bishops of the entire universe; whereas they refused communion to Athanasius and Marcellus, who have *many on their side who defend them by word and writing* (Ἀθανάσιος δὲ καὶ Μάρκελλος, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πλείονας ἔχουσι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας). It does not necessarily follow that these friends of Marcellus were in the *east;* but it is at least probable, since the Pope is writing to the bishops of Antioch.

Moreover, from Athanasius *Hist. Arianorum,* 8 (MG 25 704 B), we know that after the death of Constantine, the three brothers Constantine, Constantius and Constans allowed the exiled bishops to return to their fatherland and their diocese. Among these was Marcellus. The edition of Migne places this decree in the year 338. Loofs[22] thinks it was issued in 337. Th. Zahn[22] appears to think that Marcellus was at this time formally reinstated in his diocese; but this is denied by Loofs, who thinks that Marcellus was allowed to return without being reinstated.

At any rate, Marcellus's return gave rise to tumultuous uprisings in Ancyra, for which each party blamed the other. These uprisings are mentioned in the letter of Pope Julius quoted by Athanasius *Apol. Contra Arian.* 33 (MG 25 304 B). In this letter the Pope says that he was informed of these disorders by certain persons, and that their testimony was corroborated by Marcellus.

[21] Athanasius Apol. contra Arianos, n. 23, MG, 25, 288 A.

[22] Loofs, Art. Marcellus von Ancyra in Realencyclopädie für Prot. Theol. u. Kirche[3], 1903, p. 262.

There is an evidently exaggerated account of the same disorders by Marcellus's enemies in the decree of the pseudo-synod of Sardica held at Philippopolis in 347 (?) (Hilary, Fragmentum III n. 9 ML 10 665).

This pseudo-synod, moreover, in reference to the synod at Constantinople in 336, says, according to Hilary: "quique increpantes illum (i. e. Marcellum) et exprobantes, necnon charitatis affectu postulantes *multo tempore,* nec quidquam proficiebant. Nam post *unam et secundam multasque correptiones* cum nihil proficere potuissent (perdurabat enim et contradicebat rectae fidei, et contentione maligna Ecclesiae catholicae resistebat); *exinde illum omnes horrere ac vitare coeperunt:* et videntes quoniam subversus est a peccato, et est a semetipso damnatus, actis eum ecclesiasticis damnaverunt, ne ulterius oves Christi pestiferis contactibus magis macularet".[23]

It certainly does not seem from this passage that Marcellus's cause was dead in the east after 336; for *only after a long time,* and only after a *first,* and a *second,* and *many* reproofs did they finally turn away from him. The years 337-340, as Loofs says,[24] are a dark, uncertain period, still we know enough of that period to feel sure that Marcellus's cause in the east at that time was not dead. It was very much alive just between 337 and 339,—the time during which Eusebius composed his work, to uphold the decision of the synod against the brethern who thought that Marcellus had been treated unjustly; for it was during this period that Marcellus returned from exile and occasioned the tumults between the contending factions in the Church of Galatia.

These are Conybeare's main arguments. We shall now briefly consider some of his objections, which he calls "*equally decisive*" and "*equally fatal*". They are four in number; none of them, however, can be said to carry any weight, excepting perhaps the last.

He finds his first and "equally decisive" objection in the words of the *Contra Marcellum* 1, 4 (MG 24 753): "Thereupon proceeding in his work, he calumniates not only Asterius but also the Great Eusebius, of whose episcopal jurisdiction many and celebrated provinces and cities boasted" (*μετεποιήθησαν*). The aorist *μετεποιήθησαν*, he says, shows that the Great Eusebius (scil. of Nico-

[23] Hilary, l. c. n. 3, ML, 10, 661.

[24] Article Arianismus in Realencyclopädie für Prot. Theol. u. Kirche[3], 1903, p. 23.

media) was already dead when the *Contra Marcellum* was composed. Had he been alive, the perfect μεταποίηνται should have been used. Hence the book was written after the death of Eusebius of Nicomedia (341-342).[25]

It certainly is surprising that a man of Conybeare's linguistic accomplishments should forget that a past action may be viewed as a cold, buried fact, independent of any existing circumstances, —in which case the aorist is in place,—or that the very same action may be considered in its relations to the present,—in which case the perfect should be used. Eusebius Pamphili in speaking of the residence of the Great Eusebius in various cities, chose the first course and used the aorist. We certainly cannot quarrel with him for his psychology.

An example from classical literature will make this plain. Thucydides opens up his history of the Peloponnesian War with the sentence: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων. He is just for the first time bringing his work to the notice of the public; and since this is the first line in his book, inasfar as the public is concerned, his history has not yet been written: yet inasfar as he is concerned, that history was an accomplished fact, which had caused him many a sleepless night in the past. But, to borrow Conybeare's method of argumentation, Thucydides had already been dead two or three years when he wrote those words!

Conybeare's second *"equally fatal objection"* considers the persons who are defended by the author of the *Contra Marcellum*. Eusebius of Caesarea could never have given his rival and namesake of Nicomedia the title of Great. He ignores him completely in his other works, noticeably in his *De Vita Constantini*.[26] The same must, moreover, be said of Asterius, whom Eusebius in his *Commentary on the Psalms* comtemptuously calls ὁ Ἀρειανός.[27]

First of all Conybeare does not prove that Eusebius of Nicomedia was the rival of Eusebius Pamphili. The very opposite appears from the History of Theodoret. In his *Hist. Eccles. 1, 5*, Theodoret sets forth a letter which Arius wrote to Eusebius of Nicomedia after the council of Nice. In that letter Arius associates Eusebius Pamphili with his party, and calls him the *brother* of

[25] ZNTW, 1905, n. x, p. 258.
[26] ZNTW, 1905, 259, n. xi.
[27] ZNTW, 1905, 261, n. xiv.

Eusebius of Nicomedia (ὁ ἀδελφός σου MG 82 912 A). In the very next chapter Theodoret cites a letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre, in which he upbraids Paulinus for his sluggishness in propagating the Arian doctrine. He sets up Eusebius Pamphili (whom he calls *my Lord Eusebius* τοῦ δεσπότου μου Εὐσεβίου) as a model for imitation, since his zeal for the Arian cause is well known.[28] Hence the two Eusebii could hardly be called *rivals.*

Moreover, both Eusebii were present at the synod of Tyre 335, which condemned Athanasius and at which Eusebius Pamphili presided;[29] both were present at the synod of Jerusalem in the same year, in which steps were taken against Marcellus, since he had embittered the Eusebian party by his defense of Athanasius;[30] both were present at the synod of Constantinople 335, at which Athanasius was condemned anew, and to which only the elite of the Arian party were sent;[31] both, finally, were present at the synod in the same city 336, which, under the presidency of Eusebius of Nicomedia,[32] condemned Marcellus and ordered Eusebius Pamphili to refute Marcellus's work.[33] Therefore, since Eusebius Pamphili was at least Arian in sympathy, why could he not have defended Eusebius of Nicomedia, one of Arius's staunchest friends? Why, too, could he not have defended Asterius (d. 330?) who had written in defense of Arius?[34]

Eusebius's silence in the *De Vita Constantini* concerning his namesake of Nicomedia and of Asterius, as G. Loeschske remarks,[35] is in keeping with the character of that writing, which is a panegyric on Constantine's life and work, and which therefore minimises the disorders consequent on the rise of Arianism, during Constantine's reign.

Furthermore, in his *Commentary on the Psalms,* as G. Loeschcke points out,[36] Eusebius does not contemptuously call Asterius ὁ

[28] MG, 82, 913 A-B.
[29] Hefele Conciliengeschichte I, 461 sqq. 1873.
[30] Ibidem I, 470 sq.
[31] Ibidem I, 471 sq.
[32] Montacutius MG, 24, 821 note 1.
[33] Hefele, l. c. I, 473.
[34] Bardenhewer-Shahan, Patrology, 1908, Freiburg im Breisgau and St. Louis, Mo., p. 239.
[35] ZNTW, 1906, p. 74 sq.
[36] ZNTW, 1906, p. 74 sq.

Ἀρειανός. The section in question,[37] which commences: "*Asterius the Arian thus explained the Psalm*", is an appendix which follows a detailed exposition of the Psalm by Eusebius. As Montfaucon indicates,[38] this appendix was added by an amanuensis in codex Tauriensis, and is not found in any other manuscript.

Finally, that the title *Great* was most probably given to Eusebius of Nicomedia only after his death, is something which Conybeare should prove, and not assert.

We come to the third objection, of which Conybeare says: "A better proof that he was not the author of the work before us, cannot be conceived". This objection is focused on the word which is used for the city of Constantinople. In *Contra Marcellum* 2, 4 (MG 24, 821 D), Constantinople is called ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις. If Eusebius wrote the work, it must have been between the years 337 and 339. Now, in a contemporary work of that period, *De Vita Constantini*, the emperor himself calls Constantinople τὴν ἐπώνυμον πόλιν; Eusebius calls it ἡ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμος πόλις, or simply τὴν ἐπώνυμον πόλιν (six times), τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν (twice), ἡ πόλις (once). On the other hand he calls Rome ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις (six times), ἡ βασιλὶς πόλις (thrice), ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις (once), ἡ μεγάλη πόλις (thrice). Had Eusebius been the author of the *Contra Marcellum*, he could only have meant Rome by ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις.[39]

In answer we can only repeat the words of G. Loeschcke.[40] The variant designations of Constantinople in the *De Vita* and the *Contra Marcellum*, would only then furnish sufficient ground to doubt the authenticity of the latter work, if Constantinople in the former work were always referred to as ἡ ἐπώνυμος πόλις, and in the latter as ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις. But as a matter of fact, Constantinople is mentioned only once in the *Contra Marcellum;* hence we cannot speak of a different terminology.

Moreover, the designation for Constantinople ἡ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμος πόλις, which is used in the *De Vita*, is not dissociated in thought from the ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις of the *Contra Marcellum*. Then, in the preceding sentence of the *Contra Marcellum*, Eusebius refers to Constantine twice merely as βασιλεύς: the *emperor;* why could

[37] Comm. in Ps. IV, MG, 23, 112 sq.
[38] MG ad loc. note 1.
[39] ZNTW, 1905, p. 260, n. xii.
[40] ZNTW, 1906, p. 74.

he not in the next sentence refer to Constantinople as the *imperial city?* Finally, as Erich Klostermann remarks,[41] if in Conybeare's supposition, Eusebius of Emesa a few years later could have used ἡ βασιλικὴ πόλις of Constantinople, there is no reason why Eusebius Pamphili could not have done so likewise.

Conybeare's fourth objection merits a little more attention, as A. Harnack himself found it *surprising,* altho he admits that it is not a sufficient reason to discard Eusebius's authorship.[42] The objection is: "If Eusebius Pamphili wrote the book, then we have the remarkable literary phenomenon of a writer who again and again refers to himself in the first person at the beginning of a context, and in the third person at the end of the same".[43]

To emphasize this objection, let us take an instance of it in *Contra Marcellum 1, 4,*—an instance which favors Conybeare's position most. Writing against Marcellus the author of the book says: "First of *all I shall* adduce those arguments (Θήσω δὲ πρῶτα) by which he attempts to refute treatises composed in accordance with true, ecclesiastical spirit; in which, too, he calumniates the writers and sustains a wellnigh universal fight against them all. For he contradicts Asterius . . . then turns against the Great Eusebius . . . and Paulinus. Then leaving off him, he wages war against Origen . . . ; he then arrays himself against Narcissus and *persecutes "the other Eusebius"* (καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Εὐσέβιον διώκει (MG 24 752 A). Similar usage of the third person for Eusebius Pamphili may be found in the same chapter 765 C; 768 A (twice) and C; 769 A and B; 772 B; 773 C.

In answer to this objection let us observe first of all with A. Harnack[44] and G. Loeschcke,[45] that these references to Eusebius occur in the fourth chapter of book 1,—in a context, accordingly, in which the author is refuting the slanders of Marcellus against a group of well-known persons, among whom was the author himself. Consequently it was fitting, that in this connexion, he should treat his own defense as objectively as possible.

That such a procedure is not peculiar to Eusebius, but is a com-

[41] Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller Eusebius' Werke, IV. Bd. 1906. p. xiv.

[42] Die Chronologie d. Altchrtl. Literat. bis Eusebius II, 2, 1904, p. 545.

[43] ZNTW, 1905, nn. xv and xvi, pp. 262-264.

[44] L. c. p. 545.

[45] ZNTW, 1906, p. 75.

mon human idiosyncrasy (if we may use that word), is well attested by literary history. It should cause no special difficulty to anyone who can boast of at least a bowing acquaintance with the classics. F. H. Chase in the JThSt 1905 (p. 514 sq.) merely indicates a few examples of the same method in Thucydides and in Xenophon. We shall dwell on the first a little at length, since it affords a perfect parallel to the case in point.

Thucydides commences the history of the Peloponnesian War in the following strain: *Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote* (Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε) the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, beginning at the moment that it broke out, and believing that it would be a great war and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it. This belief was not without its grounds. The preparations of both the combatants were in every department in the last state of perfection; and he could see (ὁρῶν) the rest of the Hellenic race taking sides in the quarrel, those who delayed doing so at once, having it in contemplation. Indeed this was the greatest movement yet known in history, not only of the Hellenes, but of a large portion of the barbarian world,—and so to speak, of entire mankind. For though the events of remote antiquity, and even those that more immediately precede the war, could not from lapse of time be clearly ascertained, yet according to the evidences, which an enquiry carried on as far back as possible *leads me to trust, I judge* that up to this time there was nothing on a great scale in war or in other matters" (ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα).[46]

Here we find Thucydides speaking of himself in the third person and in the first person in the very same context. From here on he continues in the first person; but in the fourth book, 104-107, in describing the part that he took in the war, he again reverts to the third person. To wit: ". . . Eucles, the general . . . sent to the other commander in Thrace, *Thucydides, son of Olorus, the author of this history* . . . to tell him to come to their relief. On receipt of this message, *he* at once set sail. . . Meanwhile Brasides

[46] The text consulted is that of H. Stuart Jones, Thucydides Historiae, in Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis 1898. Translation by Richard Crawley: Thucydides Peloponnesian War in Everyman's Library 1914, London. The translation has been slightly altered to emphasize the change of persons in Greek.

. . . learning that *Thucydides* possessed the right of working the gold mines in that part of Thrace . . . hastened to gain the town . . . Late in the same day, *Thucydides and his* ships entered the harbon of Eion". . .

No one will deny the perfect parallelism between the case of Eusebius and that of Thucydides. The same *phenomenon* appears in Xenophon's Anabasis. Every college student knows how exasperatingly objective Xenophon's style is. Yet we find a few references in it in the first person. Thus in 1, 2 we read: "Cyrus at the head of the force, *which I have mentioned,* (Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα) commenced his journey from Sardis". Again 2, 3: "*What I just now stated,* (Ὃ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα) that the king was alarmed at the approach of the Greeks, became evident by what followed".

But in 3, 1 in introducing himself as the leader of the Greeks, Xenophon consistently adopts the third person thruout, so much so that we instinctively wonder whether perhaps someone else had not written the book. The text runs: "There was in the army a certain *Xenophon, an Athenian,* (Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος) who accompanied it neither in the character of general, nor captain nor common soldier; but it had happened that Proxenus, an old guest-friend of his, had sent for *him* (αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο) *giving him* a promise, that if *he* came (ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι) he would recommend *him* (αὐτὸν) to the friendship of Cyrus, whom he considered, he said, as a greater object of regard than his own country. *Xenophon* on reading the letter" etc.[47]

This same characteristic distinguishes Cesar's book on the Gallic War, in which Cesar is spoken of thruout in the third person. He uses the first person occasionally in clauses of recapitulation, even where in the same context he speaks of himself in the third. For example the opening lines of book 2 are: "*Cum esset Caesar* in citeriore Gallia, ita uti *supra demonstravimus,* crebri ad eum rumores adferebantur etc.".[48]

If we need any more testimony to show the futility of Conybeare's objection, we might appeal to the *Historia Arianorum* written by Athanasius, a contemporary of Eusebius. This treatise is prefixed by an *Epistola ad Monachos,* in which Athanasius refers to himself constantly in the first person. In the history itself,

[47] Text: Goodwin and White, New York, 1894. Translation: J. S. Watson, in the Student's Literal Translations, New York, 1920.

[48] Text: Allen and Greenough, New Caesar with Vocabulary, London, New York, 1898.

however, he generally refers to himself in the third person. He uses the first person also, sometimes in the same context in which the third person had been used. We shall consider one example.

Number 23 of his history (MG 25 717 B-C) reads: "But the emperor Constantius, whose conscience was slightly pricked, entered into himself, and since he suspected from what had happened to Euphrates, that the attacks against the others were of a similar nature, he immediately ordered that the priests and deacons, who had been exiled from Alexandria into Armenia, should be freed. And he wrote a public letter to Alexandria forbidding the clergy and *men of Athanasius to be persecuted* (μηκέτι διώκεσθαι τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθανασίου κληρικούς τε καὶ λαούς). Then about ten months later, when Gregory was dead, he summoned *Athanasius* with all honor, and wrote *him* friendly letters not once, nor twice, but three times, urging *him* to take courage and come (μεταπέμπεται καὶ Ἀθανάσιον μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, οὐδὲ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον γράψας αὐτῷ μὲν φιλικὰ . . .). He sent besides a priest and a deacon, that *he might come* with more confidence (ἵν' ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρῶν ἐπανέλθοι). For he thought that out of fear of what had happened, *I should not care* to return. He also wrote to his brother, Constans, in order that he, too, might *urge me to return* (Ἐνόμιζε γὰρ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ὀλιγωρεῖν με περὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον . . . ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθεῖν με προτρέψηται). For he avowed that for a whole year he had been waiting for *Athanasius,* and could not allow any innovation to take place, or any appointment to be made, since he was keeping the churches for *Athanasius the bishop"* (Διεβεβαιοῦτο γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον . . . φυλάττων Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας).

Even at the risk of tediousness, let us mention one more example of a modern author, which G. Loeschcke[49] takes from Krumbacher's work, Kultur der Gegenwart I, 8 p. 285: "Eine Gesamtausgabe (nämlich der Lieder des Romanos) wird seit 20 Jahren vorbereitet von *K. Krumbacher",* and five lines later: "die Übersetzung der ersten Strophe ist *von mir,* die der zweiten von J. L. Jacobi".

In view of this array of evidence, we cannot see how it is "*a literary impossibility that the* ἕτερος Εὐσέβιος *should be the Eusebius who wrote the Elenchi";*[50] nor can we gratify Conybeare's wish: "for the sake of patristic scholarship, I hope that no one hence-

[49] ZNTW, 1906, p. 75.

[50] ZNTW, 1903, p. 333.

forth will be so hardy as to attribute this work to the historian of Caesarea".[51] In view of this utterance it strikes one as a bit of droll humor that Erich Klostermann, in his edition of the *Contra Marcellum* 1906, winds up his views on Conybeare's assertions with the remark: "Die Kühnheit dieser ganzen Kritik wird es gerechtfertigt erscheinen lassen wenn ich auf den Tafel der Ausgabe noch ohne Fragezeichen gesetzt habe: Eusebius' Werke IV. Band".[52]

2. *The Letter to Caesarea.*

Let us now take up the remaining work of Eusebius, in which the traditional text of Mt. 28, 19 is used,—the Letter which he wrote to his Church in Caesarea after the Council of Nice. In speaking of this document in his article of 1901,[53] Conybeare says: "There is hardly reason to suspect an interpolation"; of course not, since he thought that he could explain its presence by the Nicene influence. But two years later[54] he states without proof, that the trinitarian passage in the letter had been interpolated: it had been foisted into the text from the ἄλλη ἔκθεσις πίστεως of the Council of Antioch 341; of course, since the Council of Nice had turned out to be a rather weak alibi. In his article of 1905,[55] then, he tries to establish this hypothesis at some length.

He states here that the creed of Asterius to which Marcellus objects,[56] is nearly identical with the second creed put forth at the *Arian* Council of Antioch 341. Both creeds after a profession of faith in God the Father, and the Son the only begotten God, and the Holy Ghost, have the addition: *the Father truly Father, the Son truly Son, the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost.* Over and above this, the creed of Antioch after the profession of faith in the Trinity, and before the clause: *the Father truly Father etc.* adds the words: *as also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples saying: Going make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* These two clauses, which characterise the second symbol of the Council of Antioch, are also found in the letter of Eusebius to Caesarea.

[51] ZNTW, 1905, p. 264, n. xvii.
[52] Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, Leipzig, 1906, p. xvi.
[53] ZNTW, p. 281.
[54] ZNTW, 1903, p. 333.
[55] ZNTW, pp. 251-254, nn. ii-v.
[56] Contra Marcellum 1, 4, MG, 24, 752.

The creeds of Asterius and that of Antioch, Conybeare continues, are Lucianic in content and spirit; and the words *as also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples, saying: Going make disciples etc.,* were added to this creed for the first time at the Council of Antioch. These words are very apposite in the Antiochean creed; and, moreover, the clause, *the Father truly Father etc.,* fits in well both with the creed of Antioch and that of Asterius, since they were a shibboleth, which the Arians used in order to propagate their doctrines. But both clauses are out of place in the creed of Eusebius; they were foisted into his text later on, to make it appear that the Great Historian had favored the Arian heresy.

Let us put the creeds side by side:

Asterius before 330 [57]	Eusebius 325 [58]	Antioch 341 [59]
1. He wrote that he believes in: Father God Almighty.	1. We believe in one God Father Almighty. . . .	1. We believe . . . in one God Father Almighty. . . .
2. And in his Son, the only begotten God.	2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, only begotten Son. . . .	2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, the only begotten God . . . God of God . . . Living Logos. . . .
3. And in the Holy Ghost.	3. And in one Holy Ghost.	3. And in the Holy Ghost.
4. And that the Father must be considered truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost likewise.	4. Believing that each one of these is and exists Father truly Father, and Son truly Son, and Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost.	4. As also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples, saying: Going make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;
	5. As also our Lord sending his disciples forth to preach said: Going, make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.	5. that is, of the Father who is truly Father, of the Son who is truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost, who is truly Holy Ghost.

[57] Contra Marcellum 1, 4, MG, 24, 752 B sq.

[58] MG, 67, 69 C sq. = Socrates H. E. 1, 8; also MG, 20, 1537 B; both texts are identical.

[59] Athanasius de Synod. 23, MG, 26, 721 sq.; also in Socrates H. E. 2,

Granting that the clauses in question had been foisted into the creed of Eusebius, it does not appear why the *Arian* interpolator should not have preserved the same order as in the creed of Antioch. But let us observe first of all, that the Council of Antioch in 341 was not an *Arian* Council. Conybeare overreaches himself by such an apodictic statement, which is refuted by the creeds of the Council itself. The first creed proposed by the Council commences: "We are not followers of Arius. For how could it be that since we are bishops, we should be followers of a priest? Nor have we accepted any other creed beyond that which has been handed down from the beginning".[60]

This creed was later changed for the second, in which a certain conciliatory spirit is evident; still it cannot be called unorthodox. After the trinitarian citation from Matthew, the second creed continues: "these names are mentioned not idly or meaninglessly, but as accurately signifying the proper hypostasis, order and glory of those names, so that they are three in hypostasis,[61] but one in harmony. . . . And if anyone teaches contrary to the sound and orthodox faith of the Scriptures, saying that before the Son was begotten there existed, or had existed, either time (χρόνον), or period (καιρὸν), or age (αἰῶνα), let him be anathema. And if anyone calls the Son a creature, as one of the things created, or produced, as one of the things produced, or a work, as one of the things made, and does not profess his faith in each one of the aforementioned names in order, as the divine Writings have handed down, or if he teaches or preaches anything besides what we have received, let him be anathema".[62]

An Arian Council could not have drawn up such a creed. It cannot be denied, however, that the Eusebian party was strong at the Council (Eusebius of Nicomedia, at this time of Constantinople, died only after the Council); still they were not in the majority. Eusebius of Nicomedia had, indeed, been chiefly instrumental in convening the Council, and had effected the renewed condemnation of Athanasius. Still that does not make the Council as such Arian. From our present knowledge we know that the Eusebian party

10, MG, 67, 201 sq. The text of Athanasius has been followed, since he is more reliable than Socrates, who deviates from Athanasius in a few words.

[60] Socrates H. E. 2, 10, MG, 67, 200 C.

[61] Hypostasis here means 'persona'; cf. Hilary de Synodis nn. 31, 32, ML, 10, 504.

[62] Athanasius de Synod. 23, MG, 26, 724.

were Arian in sympathy; yet it does not follow that they were so considered by the orthodox bishops of the fourth century. As Hefele sizes up the situation,[63] at the Council of Nice the orthodox party was on the extreme right; Arius and a few followers on the extreme left; while the Eusebian party held the center, on the left of which was Eusebius of Nicomedia, on the right Eusebius of Caesarea. After the central party had signed the decrees of the Nicene Council, they were looked upon as orthodox by the generality of the bishops. It is only in this way that we can explain such a seeming paradox as that of the Council of Antioch 341, in which many orthodox bishops of the east combined with the Eusebian party in condemning Athanasius.

Moreover, altho we clearly know that Athanasius was orthodox in his doctrines, it certainly does not follow that this was as evident to the orthodox bishops of his time. Athanasius had associated with Marcellus, who had been convicted of heresy; he had been banished by Constantine, and even seems to have been suspected for a time by Pope Julius. On this point see the masterly treatise of Hefele, Conciliengeschichte I, 502-530.

Consequently, it cannot be said that the expression *Father truly Father etc.,* was an expression which the Council of Antioch used in order to propagate Arian ideas. Neither could the expression have been an *"Arian shibboleth"*, for then the orthodox party would never have permitted its insertion into the creed,—and they were in the majority!

Besides, we know that three or four years previously, Eusebius Pamphili approved this expression in his work *Contra Marcellum* (for surely we can hold that he is the author of that work!). In the fourth chapter of the first book of that treatise,[64] after Marcellus has cited the letter of Asterius in which he professes his belief in the *Father truly Father etc.,* Eusebius continues: "Thus Marcellus writes against Asterius, not pleased with his utterance that the Father must be truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost likewise. Hence he proceeds to refute this clause at very great length. For he wishes to say that Christ is a bare word similar to a human word, and not the truly living and abiding Son". If Eusebius approved this clause in 337-339, it is possible that he used it in his creed of 325.

Conybeare's assertion that the clause is not apposite in Eusebius's

[63] L. c. I, 306, par. 32.
[64] MG, 24, 753 B.

creed, because in the second member of his creed he gives prominence to the *Word* and not to the *Son,* is hardly worthy of consideration. Eusebius in his creed indeed places the *Logos of God* immediately after *Jesus Christ;* but he continues *God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Only Begotten Son.* The creed of Antioch, too, in its lengthy enumeration of the titles of Jesus Christ, does not omit the *Living Logos.* Should the clause be apposite in the creed of Antioch, because it mentions first the *Son of God,* and later the *Living Logos,* and not apposite in the creed of Eusebius, because he mentions first the *Logos of God,* and only later the *only begotten Son?* With the best of wills it is hard to see the logic in Conybeare's reasoning. Even had Eusebius omitted the *only begotten Son* entirely, why should the clause not fit into his creed, since it clearly has the triple division of all ancient creeds: *In one God the Father . . . in one Jesus Christ . . . in one Holy Ghost,*—no matter whether the second person be characterised as the Υἱὸς or as the Λόγος?

Conybeare states furthermore, that when Eusebius of Nicomedia read his creed with the Lucianic catchwords at the Council of Nice, the assembly arose and tore his paper to pieces. The inference is evident: had Eusebius Pamphili's creed contained the same catchwords, it would have fared no better.

Conybeare's source is Theodoret; but he could not have read his source very carefully. Theodoret in *Eccles. Hist.* 1, 7[65] tells us that when the writing of Eusebius of Nicomedia was read, all who heard it were filled with great sorrow *on account of the apostasy of the man* (τῆς ἐκτροπῆς ἕνεκα); and thereupon they tore up his writing. There is nothing said of any Lucianic additions. They are supplied by Conybeare himself; *for was not the clause an Arian shibboleth, and was not Eusebius of Nicomedia an Arian sympathiser?*

Had he given more attention to his source, he would have discovered that the offensive expressions were: τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, τὸ λέγειν κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα τὸν Υἱόν, τὸ ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ὅτι τρεπτῆς ἐστι φύσεως. The Nicene Fathers demanded of the Eusebians that they accept the word ὁμοούσιος; for in this word, Theodoret says, all the previous discussion is summed up.

That the clause *the Father truly Father etc.,* was used by the Arians, is true,—at least we know that Asterius used it; that it

[65] MG, 82, 921 AB.

was an Arian shibboleth, which "*in the Nicene age conveyed the doctrine that the three persons were three independent and different substances*", is disproved by the very same second symbol of the Council of Antioch 341. Hilary in commenting on this second creed, says:[66] "First of all we must bear in mind, that the Council of Antioch convened not against the heresy, which dared to assert that the Father and Son were of a different substance, but against the heresy, which after the Council of Nice, belched forth the doctrine that the three names are to be ascribed to the Father" (that is, not against Arianism, but against Sabellianism, revived in the person of Marcellus of Ancyra). Hilary continues: "Therefore the assembled synod of holy men, in their desire to destroy such impiety, which tried to escape the dogma (veritatem) of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost expressed by the number of names, and which subtracted the personality from each name, thereby falsely joining the three names, so that the Father alone might have the name of the Holy Spirit and the Son; therefore this holy synod said that there were three substances, meaning three persons by substances, and not intending to separate the substance of the Father and the Son by a difference of nature".

The words of Hilary indicate that the Council of Antioch was directed against Sabellianism, which claimed that Father, Son and Holy Ghost were three different names for the same person. This becomes clearer from the last sentence of the third creed approved at the same Council: "And whosoever sides with Marcellus of Ancyra, or Sabellius, or Paul of Samosata, may he be anathema, and all those who communicate with him".[67] Hence the expression *the Father truly Father etc.*, at the Council of Antioch was used to emphasize, as Hilary says, the distinction of persons against Marcellus; it was not intended to be a shibboleth to propagate the doctrine of "*three independent and different substances*" in God.

Let us come to Conybeare's second argument. In his letter to Caesarea, Eusebius says that when the assembly heard his creed, no one could find fault with it, and they accepted it "*with a few additions*". Now, Eusebius in his letter mentions first the creed which he proposed, and then the creed which the Nicene Fathers adopted. But the Nicene creed contains neither the clause *the Father truly Father etc.*, nor the trinitarian citation from Mat-

[66] De Synod. 32, ML, 10, 504.

[67] Athanasius de Synod. 24, MG, 26, 725 A.

thew. Therefore, since, according to Eusebius's testimony, the Nicene creed is the same as the creed which he proposed *"with a few additions"*, the two clauses could not have been original parts of Eusebius's creed.

A clever argument, indeed; but it loses its force completely as soon as we put the two creeds side by side and compare them. In the following paradigm, the words in italics in the creed of Eusebius have been omitted by the Council of Nice; whereas those italicised in the Nicene creed, were added over and above the creed of Eusebius.

Eusebius MG 20 1537 BCD	Nicene Creed MG 20 1540 BC
1. We believe in one God, Father Almighty, *the* Creator of all *the* things visible and invisible.	1. We believe in one God, Father Almighty, Creator of things visible and invisible.
2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the *Logos of God*, God of God, Light of Light, *Life of Life, only begotten Son, first-born of all creation,* begotten of the Father *before all ages,* by whom all things were made, who became flesh on account of our salvation, and *lived among men* (*ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον*), *and* suffered, and arose the third day, and ascended *to the Father* and *will come again in glory* (*ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ*) to judge both living and dead.	2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the *Son of God, only begotten of the Father,* God of God, Light of Light, *true God of true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father* by whom all things were made, *both the things in heaven and those on earth, who came down* and became flesh on account *of us men* and our salvation, *dwelt among men* (*ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*) suffered and arose the third day, ascended *into heaven,* and *will come* (*ἐρχόμενος*) to judge both living and dead.
3. *We believe* also in *one* Holy Ghost, *believing that each one of these is and exists, Father truly Father, Son truly Son, and Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord said when he sent his disciples to preach: Going make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.*	3. And in the Holy Ghost.
4. *Concerning which we affirm that thus we hold and believe, and have thus held of old, and shall stand by this faith until death, anathematising every impious*	4. *The Catholic Church anathematises those who say that there was a time when the Son of God did not exist, or that he did not exist before he was born, or that*

heresy. That we have always maintained this belief from our heart and soul, insofar as we know ourselves, and now maintain and profess it in truth, we call God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ to witness, being able to show by arguments and to convince you, that in past times we have thus believed and taught.

he was made from nothing, or from some other hypostasis or nature, or that he was created, changed or altered.

We see from the paradigm that numbers 2, 3 and 4 were almost entirely changed. In no. 2, eight of Eusebius's phrases were omitted, and eleven substituted in their stead. Then no. 4 is expunged entirely, and a new anti-Arian section inserted. Yet Eusebius is snugly silent about these omissions, and is even hardy enough[1] to maintain that his creed was accepted *"with a few additions"*. It had been much nearer the truth to say that his creed was hardly recognisable after the Nicene Fathers were thru with it.

Consequently, his neglect to mention the omission of the clause *the Father truly Father etc.,* and the *trinitarian citation,* is no more a proof that these clauses were not original in his creed, than is the similar silence a proof that the phrases the *Logos of God, Life of Life, First-born of all creation, before all ages, etc.* were not original. We should have a fine looking creed indeed, if we discarded as spurious all the phrases which were omitted in the Nicene symbol.

We can understand that the two clauses in question might have met with opposition from the Nicene Fathers. On the extreme right was Marcellus of Ancyra, who regarded the clause *Father truly Father etc.,* as a cloak of heresy. This is evidenced by the words of the *Contra Marcellum* 1, 4 (MG 24 753 A).

Marcellus is there quoted as saying against Asterius: "When, however, not grasping the full import of the divine power, in a rather human fashion, and by some sort of artificial speculation, he calls the Father Father, and the Son Son, we cannot praise such a speculation without danger. For the result is that thru this speculation, the heresy which they have invented is increased, as, I think, it will be easy to prove from his own words".

Marcellus, therefore, who later was accused of Sabellianism, took offense at these words. Possibly he might have opposed the expressions at the Council of Nice; possibly too, he might have been supported in this by his friend Athanasius and the orthodox party

generally. However, all that we know is that the expressions, for whatever reason, were omitted in the creed drawn up by the Nicene Fathers.

That Eusebius should have neglected to mention this omission, need not surprise us. Thruout his letter he tries to minimise, to the greatest degree possible, the opposition of the Nicene Council. His letter bears the evident earmarks of a wary diplomacy, trying to influence the home party into accepting the Nicene creed, and trying, also, to right in their eyes, the stand which he had taken in the matter. Therefore he mentions right at the beginning, that the Nicene creed was the same as the one which he had proposed, barring "a few additions". These additions, he says later, consisted mainly in the word ὁμοούσιος, which the emperor himself suggested should be inserted. This expression, he continues, contained nothing unorthodox, and he himself had accepted it only after long and mature deliberation.

This conciliatory spirit is especially evident in the last part of the letter, where Eusebius speaks of the anathema affixed to the creed. "We think", he writes, "that the anathema which is appended to the creed proposed by them, need not cause any worry; since it prohibits the use of unscriptural words, whence nearly all the confusion and anarchy in the Church has arisen. Therefore since none of the divinely inspired Writings make use of the expressions: ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, and ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, and the other expressions mentioned, it did not seem well to use them in ordinary speech or in teaching. We accordingly subscribed to this anathema, since it seemed reasonable, and since we had never formerly been in the habit of using those expressions. . . .

We have thought it necessary to send you these items, beloved, in order clearly to demonstrate to you the conclusion of our investigation, which has induced us to yield; and also to show you that we resisted with good reason up to the last hour, as long as the expressions proposed by the others offended us. But finally, since we did not love strife, we accepted the terms. Neither did they cause any trouble; for when we candidly examined the meaning of the words, we found that they coincided with our own, which we had proposed in our own creed".

In view of all this, we take pride in accepting Conybeare's statement of 1901 with a strengthening qualification: *there is no earthly reason to suspect an interpolation.* The trinitarian citation from

Matthew is an original part of Eusebius's creed; and from the opening words of that creed we can infer that Eusebius had always believed this passage to be an authentic part of the Gospel. His words are: *"As we have received from the bishops before us, and in our first catechesis, and when we received baptism, and have learned from the Divine Writings, and as we have believed and taught during our priestly and our episcopal career, so now also believing, we propose to you our faith, which is the following".*

In such a solemn profession of his faith, we cannot imagine that the bishop of Caesarea, the disciple of Pamphilus, the greatest scripture scholar of his age, would have cited the trinitarian passage as a part of the Gospel, were he convinced that it was a later interpolation. Consequently, Eusebius realised that these words were authentic, and he had been thus taught by the bishops before him, and had been brought to this view by the writings in the famous library at Caesarea, *in which Pamphilus and Origen must have sorted manuscripts, ante-dating our oldest uncials by 50-150 years.*

But if this is so, why does Eusebius omit the baptismal command in 24 passages scattered over the vast range of his writings? Why, too, does he add *in my name* to Christ's farewell words, in 17 of these instances? We shall consider these two questions separately.

CHAPTER III.

The Omission of the Baptismal Command.

E. Riggenbach,[1] F. H. Chase,[2] and P. Feine[3] appeal to the *disciplina arcani* as a very probable reason for the frequent omission of the baptismal command in the works of Eusebius. Altho we know that the doctrine of the Trinity and the liturgical rites of baptism were especially hidden from the uninitiated, still this opinion does not seem tenable. We are glad to say that for once we can accept Conybeare's stand on this point.[4] His most telling reasons against the *disciplina arcani,* are: First, the abbreviated forms are found in works which are intended for the initiated;[5] secondly, in the view of his opponents (he has Riggenbach in mind), the received text occurs in the *Syriac Theophany* (and we may also add in the *Eccles. Theol.*) alongside of the abbreviated form. If in these works Eusebius uses the shorter forms for fear of violating the *disciplina arcani,* why does he use the longer form at all?

No one will be able to deny the justice of these claims. The *disciplina arcani,* it is to be feared, is made the parent of many a child which it would never recognise. At any rate it proves inadequate in our case. Accordingly we must seek elsewhere for the cause of these omissions. Stepping in the footprints of Wilkinson,[6] Chase,[7] and Lebreton,[8] we shall examine the context itself, and see whether it cannot break the seal of the secret. The baptismal command is omitted in the 24 passages of the first two groups; hence we shall study these in order, with reference to their context.

1. *Dem. Evang.* 1, 3.

Theme: The Mosaic government was not adapted to all nations.

Development:

The Mosaic ritual and rule of life with its minutiae of observ-

[1] Beiträge zur Förderung christ. Theol. VII 1903, p. 30 sqq.
[2] JThST, 1905, p. 496 sq.
[3] Theol. des NT, Leipzig 1912, p. 211.
[4] ZNTW, 1905, p. 267, n. xix.
[5] Cf. also K. Lake in ERE, s. v. Baptism, p. 380.
[6] The Hibbert Journal, 1903, p. 572 sq.
[7] JThSt, 1905, p. 485 sq.
[8] Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité, 1910, p. 479 sqq.

ances could be lived up to, only by the inhabitants of Palestine, and that with difficulty. It was an impossible observance for the Jews in the *diaspora,* and *a fortiori* for the nations of the world. Hence it was necessary to establish a new order beyond the law of Moses, according to which the nations of the universe might live a life similar to that of Abraham, and partake in the same blessing with him. "Accordingly when our Savior and Lord Jesus, the Son of God, after his resurrection from the dead, said to his disciples: 'Going make disciples of all the nations', he rightly added: *'teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you'.* He did not command them to *teach the nations the Mosaic observances, but what he had commanded, etc.".*

It is evident that there is no call for the baptismal command in this context. Eusebius is contrasting the Mosaic law and the Christian law. He calls attention to the fact that the Mosaic law was limited, adapted to only one people, and that even upon these it imposed an almost impossible observance; whereas the law of Christ was universal, adapted to all nations, and set forth a rule of life which could be followed by all, everywhere. Eusebius cites only that part of Christ's words, which brings his point into relief. He omits the baptismal command, which could only hamper the flow of his thought.

2. *Dem. Evang.* 1, 4.

Theme: Why do we reject the Mosaic rule of life, seeing that we accept the Old Testament Writings?

Development:

We accept the books of the Jews, because they contain prophecies about us Gentiles; because Moses and all the prophets after him, have sung of the new Legislator to come. In them we Gentiles are told to sing a new song; a song, which is further called the New Testament; a Testament, which according to Isaias, is the New Law which shall go out of Sion. Which is this New Law which shall go out of Sion other than the Gospel, which thru our Savior Jesus Christ and thru his disciples, was disseminated thru the world, according to the words which he spoke to his disciples: "Going make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you".

Again we have a contrast between the law of Moses and the law of Christ. The baptismal command is not needed, and hence not quoted.

3. *Dem Evang.* 1, 6.

Theme: The rule of life imposed upon all Christians by the New Law.

Development:

Melchisedech, Noe, Enoch, Abraham, Job did not follow the Mosaic ritual and ceremonial observances, but they practised the virtues later inculcated by Christ. This old Law to which they belonged, and which preceded the law of Moses, was forgotten for a long time, but it was revived by Christ. The Mosaic law which ruled in the interim, was given for a half-grown generation, who thereby were enabled to live merely an imperfect life. But this imperfect law was to cease with the coming of Christ.

Here Christ is introduced as speaking at length, and contrasting his law with the law of Moses, and his moral obligations with the Mosaic obligations. Then Eusebius continues: "These and other similar things, the rule of the New Law, thru the teaching of Christ, has announced to the nations. And these are the things, which Christ commanded his disciples to announce to all the nations, when he said: 'Going make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you'".

Once more we have a contrast between the Mosaic law and the Christian law; between the Mosaic teaching and the Christian teaching; between the Mosaic obligations and the Christian obligations. Hence it was not necessary to cite the command to baptise.

4. *Ps.* 46, 4.

Text: He hath subdued the people under us; and the nations under our feet.

Development:

"It is known to all that neither were the people subjected to the sons of Core, nor were the nations brought under their feet; whence these things are said in the person of the Apostles. For they following the command of the Savior himself to teach all the nations, were filled with his power, and went forth to all the nations, and penetrated even into barbarous tribes, and traversed the entire inhabited world."

The point that is brought to our notice here is the spread of Christ's doctrine thru the world, and the subjection of all the nations to his spiritual rule by the preaching of the Apostles.

Since this conquest of the world by the Apostles is the prominent and, in fact, permeating thought in the context, it was entirely superfluous to adduce the baptismal command.

5. *Ps.* 95, 3.

Text: Declare his glory among the Gentiles: his wonders among all people.

Development:

"To whom must we consider these words addressed, if not to those who later fulfilled them in deed, those namely who announced to all the nations the salvation of God? Who are they that carry out these words by their works? They are the disciples of Jesus, who heard the command: 'Going make disciples of all the nations'".

Again Eusebius is speaking of the spiritual conquest of the universe by the preaching of the Apostles. He cites merely that part of the Savior's words, which is necessary for his purpose.

6. *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 3.

Theme: The correct interpretation of passages, on which Marcellus has put a false construction.

Development:

The passage here in question is taken from Proverbs 8, 24: "The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived, neither had the fountains of water as yet sprung out". Marcellus interprets this passage thus: "Rightly the Lord in speaking of his human birth has said thru his prophet Solomon: *'before the fountains sprung out'*. For the Savior said to his holy fountains: 'Going make disciples of all the nations'. Therefore it is entirely clear that the holy Apostles are figuratively called fountains by the prophet".

There was no necessity of introducing the baptismal command here, since in Marcellus's view, the Apostles were the fountains, which improved the soil of the universe by the rich doctrines of Christ.

7. *Dem. Evang.* 3, 6.

Theme: Christ was not a magician.

Development:

A magician associates with depraved and wicked men, and works for gain; Christ was most pure and holy, and despised wealth. Hence his miracles must be ascribed to the power of

God, and not to witchcraft. His doctrine was of such a nature, that it spread thru the whole world and subjected all people to its rule. But to what magician's mind had it ever occurred to found a nation in his own name, and to establish laws thruout the world contrary to the ancient customs of all nations? Jesus not only conceived and attempted such a plan, but he succeeded in fulfilling it; for when he gave the command to his disciples: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you", he followed up this command by his deed. For at once the entire Hellenic and barbarian races were discipled, and laws were promulgated among all the nations, contrary to their former superstition etc.

In this context we notice a contrast between the private lives of magicians and the life of Christ; between their teaching and his; between their power and his power;—a contrast, too, between his law and doctrine and the laws and doctrines of pagan nations. There is no room for the baptismal command.

8-10. *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (*thrice*).

Theme: Christ is endowed with divine power.

Development:

This was already attested to by the pagan oracles; but it is evident to us especially by that miracle of miracles: the conquest of the world thru poor fishermen. An ordinary legislator or king has all that he can do, to enact laws and enforce them within his kingdom; but Christ speaks like a God, indeed, when he says to his disciples: "Going make disciples of all the nations." And lest his disciples might become discouraged, and inquire by what power they could preach the Gospel to the Romans, and speak to the Egyptians, and converse with the Greeks, and evangelise the Persians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Indians and all barbaric nations, he adds the one word: "in my name", "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name". The Apostles obeyed this command and conquered the world. This fact exemplifies conclusively the super-human power of him who said: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name".

Here the power of Christ as Lord and Legislator is in the foreground,—that power as set against and excelling the power of ordinary kings and legislators. We could hardly expect Eusebius to cite the baptismal command in this connexion.

11. *Dem. Evang.* 9.

Theme: The New Law of Christ is sanctioned by Deuteronomy.

Development:

Deut. 18, 15-19: . . . "I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren like to thee: and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I shall command him. And he that will not hear his words, which he shall speak in my name, I will be the revenger".

This legislator and teacher of piety to men who was to come after Moses, was none other than Christ. Moses, indeed, was the leader of a single nation, and his law was adapted to a single people; but Christ with a super-human authority and a power more divine than that of Moses, founded laws for the entire world. And first, indeed, in keeping with the prophecy he confined himself to the Jews; but when they spurned him, he turned to the Gentiles, commanding his disciples: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name".

Again Christ's power as the divine and universal Legislator is emphasized in contradistinction to Moses, the human and limited legislator. There is no need to insert the command to baptise.

12. *Hist. Eccles.* 3, 5.

Theme: The siege of Jerusalem after the death of Christ.

Development:

Since the Jews after the ascent of Christ into heaven did not rest satisfied with their crime against him, but continued to persecute his disciples, by stoning Stephen, beheading James the brother of John, and putting to death James the bishop of Jerusalem; and since they afflicted the other Apostles so severely that they fled from Palestine and began to preach the Gospel to all the nations, imbued with the power of Christ who had said to them: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name"; and when all the Christians had left Jerusalem and fled to Pella, then the divine vengeance visited upon Jerusalem the crimes of which that city had been guilty against Christ and his disciples.

There is certainly no necessity of citing the baptismal command in this context.

13. *De Laud. Constant.* 16.

Theme: The causes of the universal peace which characterised the reign of Constantine.

Development:

In the time of paganism the world was engulfed in wars and crimes. This evil state was the direct result of the power of the demons. This power of the demons was broken by Christ's death on the cross. At the same time the Roman Empire subjected all nations to its sway. The powerful doctrine of Christ which triumphed over the demons, and the powerful Roman Empire which conquered the rulers of the world, are responsible for this miraculous change.

This change had been foretold of old; and it is a mighty testimony to the divine origin of Christianity. "For what king in the memory of man, what ruler, or lawgiver, or philosopher, or prophet, be it of the Hellenes or of the barbarians, was gifted with such power and authority as to fill the ears and tongues of all peoples with his praise? None surely, except our Savior alone could accomplish such a miracle, when after his victory over death he gave his disciples the command, and confirmed that command by his deed, saying to them: 'Going therefore make disciples of all the nations in my name'; and since he told them that his Gospel must needs be announced in the whole world, he followed up his command by deeds.

Again, Christ's power over the demons is emphasized, and the superiority of his legislative authority is stressed over all human legislative bodies. There is no occasion to mention his command to baptise.

14. *Ps.* 59, 9.

Text: God hath spoken in his holy one: I shall be exalted and shall divide Sichem, and shall divide the vale of tents. Galaad is mine, and Manasses in mine, and Ephraim is the strength of my head. Juda is my king. Moab is the pot of my hope. Into Edom will I stretch out my shoe: to me the foreigners are made subject.

Development:

This holy one is Christ. The words are fulfilled in him. After his ascension, he sent the Holy Ghost upon Sichem, that is, the Samaritans; he filled the valley of tents, that is, the universe, with his churches; Galaad and Ephraim, Manasses and Juda became subject to him; and in Moab and Edom was his rule over the Gentiles symbolised.

According to another explanation, the words Sichem, Galaad,

Manasses, Ephraim, Juda, Moab and Edom represent all nations indiscriminately. The Jews are mentioned in the first place, because to them first should the kingdom of God be announced; but after them Christ commanded his disciples *to preach the Gospel to all the nations in his name.*

In these words the antithesis is brought out between the preaching of the Gospel to the Jewish people and to the Gentiles. Why should the command to baptise be forced into the context?

15. *Ps.* 65, 5. 6.

Text: Come and see the works of God, who is terrible in his counsels over the sons of men; who turneth the sea into dry land, in the river they shall pass on foot: there we shall rejoice in him, who by his power endureth forever.

Development:

All the nations are invited to come and consider the awe-inspiring deeds, which God performed in behalf of his people, in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in the Jordan; and to reflect that he who could confute his enemies of old, is still powerful against them. Hence we should rejoice in him, who by his power endureth forever. We should understand these words of that saying of Christ: "All power is given to me in heaven and on earth. Going make disciples of all the nations in my name". Wherefore Aquila translates it: "who exercises authority in his power forever".

In the immediaté context there is no place for the baptismal command. However, had Eusebius cited Mt. 28, 19 earlier in his Commentary, at the words: *we shall rejoice in him,* which he refers to the waters of baptism, he would have been obliged to quote the baptismal command. But in the immediate context, there is no reason to cite them.

16. *Ps.* 67, 34.

Text: Behold he will give to his voice the voice of power; give ye glory to God for Israel.

Development:

That Christ's voice was endowed with power is evident from his deeds; for when he said to his disciples: "Come, follow me, and I shall make you fishers of men", he actually fulfilled this promise by his power; and again when he commanded them saying: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name", he manifested his power in very deed.

There is no necessity of quoting Christ's command to baptise, as Eusebius wishes to bring to our notice the power of Christ's commands; and this is abundantly done by citing the first part of the text, in which the conquest of the world is announced.

17. *Ps.* 76, 20.

Text: Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in many waters, and thy footsteps shall not be known.

Development:

From the preceding verse we learn that the earth shook and trembled. This was realised when Christ entered Jerusalem, and the entire city was in consternation; also when the nations of the world trembled on hearing the words of the Gospel from the lips of the Apostles. How should we understand the prophet when he says that Christ's way is in the sea, and his paths in many waters, and his footsteps will not be known? This passage receives light from his promise to his disciples: "Going make disciples of all nations in my name", and, "Behold I am with you all days even to the end of the world". For thruout the entire world, invisibly present to his disciples, he traveled on the sea of life, and in the many waters of the nations. This he accomplished by his invisible and hidden power.

The prominent ideas in this passage are that Christ's power is universal and invisible. The universality is proved by Christ's command: "Going make disciples of all the nations"; the invisibility, by the text: "Behold I am with you all days even to the end of the world". The baptismal command would be lost here.

18. *Isaias* 18, 2.

Text: Light messengers will go to an unsettled nation and a strange and difficult people; . . . to a nation without hope and trodden under foot.

Development:

This command seems to be given to the disciples of our Savior. Since they are messengers of good tidings, they are called messengers, and light ones, to distinguish them from the apostles of the Jews. Wherefore the prophet addresses these messengers of good tidings thus: You disciples of Christ, go as the Savior himself has commanded you; *'Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel'*, and, *'Going make disciples of all the nations in my name'."*

Again it is the teaching office of the Apostles that is emphasized, so that it was quite unnecessary to mention their power to baptise.

19. *Isaias* 34, 16.

Text: One hath not sought the other, because the Lord commanded them and his Spirit gathered them together.

Development:

Eusebius has only one sentence here, viz: "For he who said to them, 'Make disciples of all the nations in my name', also forbad them to establish their churches in one and the same place". It would have been entirely irrelevant to call attention to the fact that they had the power to baptise.

20. *Syriac Theophany* 3, 14 = *n.* 13 *De Laud. Const.* 16.

21. *Syriac Theophany* 4, 16.

Theme: The interpretation of the parable of the marriage-feast in Matthew.

Development:

The bridegroom is the divine Logos. The bride is the rational soul. The servants are the solicitors. These solicitors, his disciples, are sent first of all to the people of the circumcision. When they refuse to come, he sends the 70 disciples to invite them to attend his banquet. When they maltreat and kill these disciples, he sends the army of the Romans to raze the city of Jerusalem. The rest of the disciples, however, go out into the world, to fulfill the command of their Lord: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name".

Again it is the preaching of the Gospel on which Eusebius lays stress. When the Jews refuse this grace, it is given to the Gentiles. The context does not call for the baptismal command.

22. *Syriac Theophany* 5, 17 is the same in contents as n. 7 *Dem. Evang.* 3, 6.

23. *Syriac Theophany* 5, 46 is the same as n. 8 *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7.

24. *Syriac Theophany* 5, 49 is the same as n. 10 *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7.

In all of these 24 instances there is not one case in which the baptismal command is necessitated by the context; in most cases its insertion would impede the flow of thought and spoil the contrast which is drawn between the universal, all-powerful law of

Christ and the limited, weak laws of religious and civil legislators. It was Eusebius's purpose to stress the world-rule of the Savior, whose laws and doctrines were not confined to any special people or country, but embraced all the nations of the world. Not only were his laws adapted to all, but by his power he saw to it that they were actually observed everywhere,—" in imperial Rome, in Alexandria and Antioch, in the whole of Egypt and Lybia, in Europe and in Asia, in villages and hamlets, and among all people " (Syriac Theophany 5, 49; Dem. Evang. 3, 7), thus proving incontestably the divine power, which raised him high above all other lawgivers, civil or religious. In such a context, there was no reason for Eusebius to mention the command of the Savior to the Apostles to baptise all in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but it was sufficient that he adduced that part of the Savior's words which laid stress on his divine and universal power.

CHAPTER IV.

The Trinitarian Citations.

By way of contrast let us now examine the texts in which the trinitarian citation occurs.

25/26. *Contra Marcellum* 1, 1.

Theme: Reasons why Marcellus wrote his book, and his method in writing.

Development:

He wrote his book out of envy and hatred. He insults the most holy servants of God, living and dead, and blasphemes the Son of God. I shall refute him by his own words. But first let me admonish all those into whose hands his book may have fallen,—especially if they hail from Galatia,—that they should not forget the words of St. Paul to the Galatians: "Though we or an angel from heaven preach a Gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema". What was this Gospel? The same which our Savior is said to have given to his disciples, when he said to them: "Going make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost".

So far, indeed, the words of baptism are in no way necessitated by the context; but their presence is demanded by the words which immediately follow: "For he alone has favored us with the grace of knowing the Holy Trinity by means of the mystical regeneration, since neither Moses, nor any of the prophets supplied this knowledge to the people of the Old Law. For it was fitting that the Son of God alone should announce this gift of his Father to all men; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth thru Jesus Christ alone, as the only begotten Son of God. . . . This holy, blessed and mystic Trinity of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, unto hope of salvation thru regeneration in Christ, the Church of God has received and guards".

There is no denying that in this context, the trinitarian citation is absolutely necessary; for in the words which precede and follow the citation of Matthew, Eusebius does not expatiate on the universality and practicability of Christ's doctrine, but on the nature

of that doctrine. That doctrine was the same as the doctrine which Paul had preached; it consisted especially in the revelation of the "blessed and mystic Trinity", which had been reserved for Christ alone to announce to the world. This doctrine of the Trinity Christ has enabled us to know *"by means of the mystical regeneration"*. Hence the command to baptise had to be quoted.

27. *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 5.

Theme: Christ's doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost.

Development:

In the most clear terms Christ teaches that the Holy Ghost is a distinct person from the Son. He cites in confirmation of this: John 16, 15-17; 20, 22; 14, 23; 25, 26; 16, 7. This Holy Spirit is the Comforter, Christ's representative on earth after his ascension into heaven, who was to teach the Apostles all things which Christ had told them, Jn. 16, 12-14. He is called the Paraclete to show that he is distinct from the Father and the Son, and distinct from the angels who are also spirits.

"None of these spirits can be compared with the Comforting Spirit. Therefore this one alone is comprised in the holy and thrice-blessed Trinity, as also our Lord in commanding his disciples to administer baptism to all the nations who would believe in him, did not order them to administer it in any other way than by baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost".

The trinitarian passage in this text is demanded by the context, which emphasizes the dogma that the Holy Ghost is a Spirit, high above the angels, and on an equal footing with the Father and the Son.

28. *Syriac Theophany,* 4, 8.

Theme: The final commission of Christ to his Apostles according to Matthew.

Development:

"After his resurrection from the dead, they all went according to his command to Galilee, whither he had told them to go. And when they saw him, some prostrated themselves but others doubted. But he drew near to them, spoke to them and said: All power in heaven and on earth is given me by my Father. Go, make disciples of all the people, and baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them

to observe all that I have commanded you, and behold, I am with you all days until the end of the world".

The trinitarian citation is not necessarily postulated by this introductory description; but its presence is demanded by the words which follow later in the text, viz: "But of necessity did he add the mystery of cleansing. For those who should be converted from among the heathens, he had to cleanse by his power from all pollution and uncleanness, because they had been defiled by their demoniac and polytheistic error, and had been laden with uncleanness of all sorts, but had now for the first time renounced that life of abomination and lawless practices. These very persons, then, did he admonish to teach after this cleansing thru his mystic doctrine . . . the observance of all things which he had commanded them".

The cleansing here can only refer to baptism. Conybeare in his article of 1901,[1] calls attention to the expression *the cleansing thru his mystic doctrine.* "This expression" he says, "precludes the idea that the writer had in view the cleansing by the water of baptism and rather suggests the exorcism at use of the name, which preceded baptism, and were specially a cleansing by his power from the pollution of demons".

It cannot be denied that the expression *the cleansing thru his mystic doctrine* is a peculiar expression; still, as Wilkinson observes,[2] if we study this expression in connexion with Eusebius's doctrine on the Trinity as set forth in the *Contra Marcellum,* it will be evident that the *mystic doctrine* of the text is the *Trinity,* and the *cleansing* thru his mystic doctrine is *baptism.*

The passage in the *Contra Marcellum* 1, 1 reads: "For he alone has favored us with the grace of knowing the Holy Trinity by means of the mystical regeneration, since neither Moses nor any of the prophets had supplied this knowledge to the people of the Old Law. For it was fitting that the Son of God alone should announce this gift of his Father to all men; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth thru Jesus Christ alone, as the only begotten Son of God. It was right therefore that the Old Law like a trainer of boys should teach the former childish people merely the first elements of theology, securing them from the deception of polytheism, and announcing to them the knowledge that God is one. But the grace of the Savior has bestowed upon us a

[1] ZNTW, n. 24, p. 282.

[2] The Hibbert Journal, 1903, p. 573.

super-mundane and angelic knowledge, and has clearly unveiled the mystery which had been kept from the former people, inasfar as it announced to us that God himself, who is above all, and who was known to the men of yore, is at once the God and Father of the only begotten Son; and inasfar as it tells us of the power of the Holy Ghost, as it is supplied to those who are worthy of it, by the Son. This holy, blessed and mystic Trinity of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, unto hope of salvation thru regeneration in Christ, the Church of God has received and guards".

The *Contra Marcellum* was most probably written some three or four years after the *Theophany;* and there can be no doubt that the *mystical doctrine* of the *Theophany* is the same as that of the *Contra Marcellum*, scil: the *doctrine of the Trinity,* which was a doctrine peculiar to the New Testament, reserved for the Son to announce to the world. Hence, *the cleansing thru his mystic doctrine* can only mean *baptism,* which was made possible thru the revelation of the *Trinity.*

29. *The Letter to Caesarea.*

This has already been extensively treated. Altho the trinitarian citation is not needed in the creed, it does not in any way "offend the context", since the creed has the triple division: in the Father . . . in the Son . . . in the Holy Ghost.

Before closing this question of the baptismal command, it will be well to note Conybeare's statement in ZNTW 1905,[3] that Eusebius in his *Praepar. Evang.* speaks of a Trinity, but that he bases his doctrine on John 1, 1 sq. and Col. 1, 15, as if he did not know of Mt. 28, 19; whereas the author of the *Contra Marcellum* rests his doctrine exclusively on Mt. 28, 19.

Both these statements are false. In *Praepar. Evang.* 11, 19 (MG 21 900 sq.) Eusebius indeed cites John 1, 1 sq. and Col. 1, 15, but not to prove the doctrine of the Trinity; the Trinity is not as much as mentioned in the whole chapter. He adduces these texts in support of the doctrine that the Son is the second cause or principle, thru whom all things are made. In the second reference to the Trinity in the *Praepar. Evang.* 13, 13 (MG 21 1116), the doctrine is not based on any scripture text, as it is Eusebius's purpose to show that this doctrine was already known to Plato.

Conybeare's second statement, that the author of the *Contra*

[3] N. xiii, p. 260.

Marcellum rests his doctrine on Mt. 28, 19 exclusively, is more false than the preceding, if that were possible. To take one instance: In the fifth book *Contra Marcellum* (*De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 5), Eusebius bases his doctrine of the Trinity on John 14, 15-17; 20, 22; 14, 23; 25, 26; 16, 7; 16, 12-14; Col. 2, 3. The text of Mt. 28, 19 is added only at the end to cap the climax after the doctrine had already been firmly established by the other passages. In the following chapter 3, 6, texts are brought forward to establish the same doctrine from Col. 1, 16, Eph. 4, 5. 6 etc, . . .

Consequently, it cannot be said that the *Contra Marcellum* contradicts the *Praepar. Evang.* so that both could not have been written by the same author.

CHAPTER V.

The Insertion of 'In My Name'.

F. H. Chase[1] has suggested that the expression *'in my name'* which in 17 instances is connected with the parting words of Christ, might have been a variant which Eusebius found in some manuscripts at Caesarea, or it might be a peculiar reading due to Eusebius himself. Lebreton[2] decides for the second alternative, deriving the expression from the parallel passages of the synoptics and especially from Luke. He calls this solution most probable.

In support of the first statement Chase calls attention to the fact that Eusebius repeatedly manifests an acquaintance with the 'western' text of the New Testament. This 'western' text, he says, betrays a fondness for inserting references to the name of Jesus into the text of the Bible. Thus in Acts 6, 8 to the words: "And Stephen full of grace and fortitude, did great wonders and signs among the people", *Codex Laudianus* adds: "in the name of the Lord"; *Codex Bezae* with some cursives has the reading: "by the name of the Lord Jesus Christ". Likewise in Acts 14, 10: "Paul said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet", *Ephraemi rescriptus, Bezae,* and others insert after "voice": "I say to you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ". Again in Acts 18, 4: "(Paul) reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, and persecuted the Jews and the Greeks", *Bezae* and *fragm. Floriacensia* add after "sabbath": "bringing in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ", as it is still preserved in the Vulgate. Then in Acts 18, 8 after: "Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed in the Lord", the same two manuscripts add: "thru the name of the Lord Jesus Christ".

Since, therefore, the 'western' text shows a fondness for inserting references to the name of Jesus, and since this text is noticeable in the works of Eusebius, the possibility of the first alternative cannot be denied. It is, indeed, possible, that among the manuscripts of Caesarea a variant of Mt. 28, 19 might have existed in the form: "Going make disciples of all the nations *in my name,* baptising them, etc.".

Tho this is possible, still it cannot be proved, since none of our

[1] JThSt, 1905, p. 488 sqq.

[2] Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité, 1910, p. 485.

extant manuscripts or versions, or the works of any of the other Fathers, show the slightest acquaintance with such a variant. Moreover the existence of such a variant is not needed to account for the citations in Eusebius; and its existence is not even probable. The reasons for these assertions are the following.

In the five instances in which Eusebius is known to cite our text fully, scil: twice in *Contra Marcellum* 1, 1; *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 5; *Syriac Theophany* 4, 8; and the *Letter to Caesarea,*—instances, consequently, in which if ever, he might reasonably be expected to cite exactly, since the context in each case is of a theological character,—the words of Matthew are quoted as we have them in the textus receptus. The phrase *in my name* is not mentioned. Had it been an original part of the Gospel, there would have been no reason for Eusebius to omit it, especially in the *Syriac Theophany* 4, 8, where he notes that the Apostles summoned courage to brave the dangers of their mission, from the recollection that Christ had said to them: "Behold I am with you all days until the end of the world". In most of the other cases (as for instance *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7), he claims that the diffidence of the Apostles was dispelled by the fact that they recalled the words of Christ: "Going, make disciples of all the nations *in my name*". Here, however, since he is arguing *merely* from the Gospel of Matthew, as appears from the title of the chapter, he mentions as the source of their courage, not the command to preach in the name of Jesus, but the promise that Jesus would be with them until the end of the world. Consequently, Eusebius did not consider the phrase *in my name* as an original part of Mt. 28, 19; and had there been a variant with this reading among the manuscripts, he evidently considered it as an insertion, and in no way a saying of Christ, inasfar as his words are recorded in the Gospel of Matthew.

However, in the 17 instances in which it does occur, Eusebius cites it as a word of Christ. A good example of this is had in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7.[3] After stating the command of the Savior to his disciples to preach the Gospel to all the nations, and after noting the fear and uneasiness which the Apostles might experience at the thought of performing such a feat, Eusebius continues: "Lest the disciples might entertain or give expression to such thoughts, as it was most probable they would, the Teacher added the solution to these difficulties, saying correctly: 'in my name'. For he did not command them simply and indefinitely to instruct

[3] MG, 22, 240 B C.

all the nations, but with the necessary addition: in his name. But since the power of this name was of such a nature that the Apostle said: 'God has given him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee might bend of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth'; therefore he rightly stressed the excellent power of that name, which escapes (the notice of) the generality of men, inasfar as he said to his disciples: 'Going, make disciples of all the nations in my name'. Thereupon, exceedingly well and accurately does he foretell the future, saying: 'For this Gospel must needs be announced in the whole world as an evidence to all the nations'" (*Ταῦτα ἢ φησάντων ἂν κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ἢ διανοηθέντων τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαθητῶν, μᾶς προσθήκῃ λέξεως αὐτοῖς ὁ Διδάσκαλος λύσιν τῶν ἀπορηθέντων ὑπέθετο, φήσας κατόρθωσιν, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀδιορίστως μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη προσέταττε, μετὰ προσθήκης δὲ ἀναγκαίας, τῆς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ . . . εἰκότως, τῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσης ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐμφαίνων, τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἔφησε · πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου. Δεῖ γὰρ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*).

Here we have before our eyes an excellent object-lesson of Eusebius's method in presenting the parting words of the risen Lord. We have first the command: "Going, make disciples of all the nations"; secondly, the addition: "in my name"; thirdly, the prophecy: "for this Gospel must needs be announced in the whole world as an evidence to all the nations". These three citations seem to be taken from one and the same source; and the third part seems to follow immediately after the first two. Yet we shall look in vain for these last words in the final commission of Christ to his disciples, as that commission is set down in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke. The parallel passages of the synoptics are:

Mt. 28, 18 sqq.

All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have

Mk. 15, 16 sqq.

Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be condemned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast

Lk. 24, 46 sqq.

Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, the third day; and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And you are

commanded you; and behold I am with you all days even to the end of the world.

out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover.

witnesses to these things. And I send the promise of my Father upon you; but stay you in the city, until you be endued with power from on high.

From the paradigm it is evident that the prophecy of which Eusebius speaks, is not taken from the parting words of Christ, but is taken from his words uttered on another occasion in his life, at the time when he forgave the sinful woman who anointed his feet in Bethany at the house of Simon the leper. This incident has been preserved by both Matthew (26, 13) and Mark (14, 9). The prophecy runs: "Wherever this Gospel (*τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο*, in both) shall be preached (*κηρυχθῇ*, in both) in the whole world (Mt. *ἐν ὅλῳ τῳ κόσμῳ*; Mk. *εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον*), that, too, which she has done, will be spoken of in memory of her (*εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς*, in both).

All doubt on this point will be removed by the *Syriac Theophany* 4, 10. In 4, 8 Eusebius, as is evident from the title of the chapter and the context, treats of the final words of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew; in 4, 9, as we also know from the title and the context, he dwells on the same final words from the Gospel of Luke; in 4, 10, as is again clear from the title and the context, he takes up the prophecy of Christ concerning the preaching of his Gospel, pronounced in connexion with the incident at Bethany, as related by Matthew and Mark.

After producing this incident and the prophetic words of Christ, Eusebius continues: "He foretold this, altho at that time the writing of the Gospel had not been thought of, and had not come to the hearing of anyone; and not even those who lived in the neighborhood were acquainted with the facts that had taken place, but only those persons knew of them who had happened to be present. Nevertheless, he uttered this great Word, and prophecied that the Gospel which would be composed by his disciples, would be announced in the whole world; and he followed up this word by his deed, when he said that together with his works, that, also, which this woman had done, would be recorded in the Gospel and told in the whole world in memory of her. That this was confirmed in very deed is clear; for there is no people, no land, no

place, in which the memory of this woman is not kept,—that memory which is set down in the Gospel concerning him, and which is announced in the whole world together with the doctrine about him".

Consequently, it cannot be denied that the prophecy which Eusebius in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 connects with the parting words of Christ, and which he introduces immediately after the command of the Savior to preach the Gospel to the whole world in his name, is taken either from Mt. 26, 13 sq., or Mk. 14, 9 sq. This prophecy is likewise thus connected with the final commission, in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (MG 22 240 C), which corresponds exactly with *Syriac Theophany* 4, 10; then, too, in *Syriac Theophany* 3, 4; 5, 46; *Ps.* 67, 34-35 (MG 23 720 C); *De Laud. Const.* 16 (MG 20 1425 C).

In this last case it seems that Eusebius also had the words of Mark in mind, when he mentions the command: "Going, therefore, make disciples of all the nations in my name". For he continues: "Having foretold and emphasized the fact that his Gospel must needs be preached in the whole world as an evidence to all the nations, he followed up this word by his deed. For at once, at no great interval of time, the entire world was filled with his doctrine. Now, since the evidence of sight is stronger than any argument, what could he have to say to this, who at the beginning of this treatise found fault with us? Who by his invisible and mighty power drove from the company of men, like so many dreadful beasts, that dangerous and worthless tribe of demons, which of old had encroached on the entire nature of man, and had displayed much witchcraft among men by the movements of the idols? Who other than our Savior *gave the power of driving out* the remnant of the wicked spirits from men, to those who chastely and sincerely took up the manner of living which he had taught, by making use of the purest prayers *with his invocation* (διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπικλήσεως), sent up to the God of all by him?"

Do not these words put us in mind of Mk. 16, 17: "And these things shall follow them that believe; *In my name they shall cast out devils"?*

Furthermore in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (MG 22 244 A), = *Syriac Theophany* 5, 49, we meet with a more curious combination. The *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 reads: "Make disciples of all the nations in my name. When he had said this he added the promise, at which they should take courage, and give themselves over confidently to the things commanded them. He said therefore to them: And behold

I am with you all days, until the end of the world. But he is also said to have breathed the Holy Ghost upon them, and to have given them a divine and wonder-working power, saying both (τότε): Receive ye the Holy Ghost; and also (τότε): Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils, freely have you received, freely give".

The words *receive ye the Holy Ghost,* are taken from Jno. 20, 22; and altho spoken by Christ after his resurrection, they do not form part of the final commission. The other citation is from Mt. 10, 8; and the words were spoken, when Christ sent his twelve Apostles forth on their first mission. No doubt Eusebius quotes it here on account of its similarity in thought with Mk. 16, 17. 18: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover".

These examples reveal a tendency in Eusebius to weld together various passages which relate to the same subject, but which are separated in time and occasion, and to make it appear as if they were spoken at one and the same time, and were recorded in one and the same source. In view of this tendency to correlate similar passages, it will not be hard to admit that the phrase *in my name* is taken over directly from the parallel passage of Luke 24, 47: "And he said to them . . . that penance and remission of sins should be *preached in his name* unto all the nations beginning at Jerusalem".

This is made the more plausible by the fact that in not one of the 17 cases, in which the expression is cited as a word of Christ, is it referred directly to the Gospel of Matthew. Eusebius speaks of it in general terms as a saying of the Savior (almost always), or as occurring in the Gospels (Is. 41. 10 MG 24 377 D). Then, too, the circumstance that in the *Syriac Theophany,* Book 4, the entire eighth chapter is devoted to the parting words of Christ as they are recorded in Matthew's Gospel, whereas the entire following chapter is devoted to the same parting words as recorded in Luke's Gospel, brings the thought home to us that the words of Luke were present to Eusebius's mind, when he cites Christ's final commission to his Apostles.

In this ninth chapter of the *Syriac Theoph.* Eusebius quotes the words of Luke: "And he said to them: 'Thus must Christ suffer and arise from the dead on the third day, and penance and remis-

sion of sins be announced in his name to all the nations, beginning at Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things'". Then he continues: "After having once said that in his name penance should be announced to all people, if this word were not fulfilled, then we should be justified in not believing in his resurrection from the dead". He goes on to say it was this word that inspired the Apostles with confidence in Christ's power, so that emboldened in spirit, they set their face against dangers and hardships, and so conquered the world.

It is not far-fetched, therefore, to say that these words of Luke influenced Eusebius in the other instances where he treats of the final command of the Savior. This view is furthermore confirmed by the Greek fragment of the *Theophany* as it is preserved in Migne 24 629 B-C. We read there that in order to fulfil the prophecy: Ask of me and I shall give the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession, Christ said to his disciples "according to Matthew: All power is given to me in heaven and on earth; but according to Luke; that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all the nations".

Since F. H. Chase [4] considered these clauses as original parts of Eusebius's text, it is surprising that he did not draw the conclusion that the phrase *in my name*, which is associated with the parting words, was taken over from Luke 24, 47. Gressmann, however, in his critical edition (p. 21*) has reconstructed the text thus: "he said to his disciples: All power is given to me in heaven and on earth"; and has omitted the rest as a gloss of *Codex Vati-*
to explain the anomaly by the supposition of a double source.
cani. Lebreton [5] gives both the reading of Migne and that of Gressmann without deciding between them; but there can be no doubt that the clauses in question are not original, since in no other place is Eusebius at pains to distinguish so nicely between the sources of his citations. Still the gloss shows that Eusebius's peculiar citations had caught the eye of the amanuensis, who sought to explain the anomaly by the supposition of a double source.

In view of what has been said, we must conclude as certain that the expression *in my name* is taken over with the necessary alteration from Luke 24, 47.

The psychological motive for such an act is to be found in the deep and at times superstitious respect, which ancient people had

[4] JThS, 1905, p. 494.

[5] L. c., p. 485, note 4.

for names in general, and in particular for the name of their deity; and in our case, in the power which Christians attributed to the name of Jesus. We have a clear instance of this view in the *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (MG 22 240 B C), quoted above: "But since the power of this name was of such a nature that the Apostle said: 'God has given him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee might bend of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth'; therefore he rightly stressed the excellent power of that name which escapes (the notice of) the generality of men, inasfar as he said to his disciples: 'Going, make disciples of all the nations in my name'". Therefore since Christ, accordink to Luke, told his disciples in his farewell words to preach the Gospel to all the nations *in his name,* Eusebius took out this phrase as best exemplifying the cause and origin of the rapid spread of Christianity thruout the world.

The change of the person from "penance and remission of sins should be preached *in his name",* to: "Going, make disciples of all the nations *in my name",* can cause no difficulty. It is a mere trifle, when we measure it by the flagrant license which Eusebius allows himself in citing Scripture generally. This will be the more evident from the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Eusebius's Method of Citing Scripture.

We have noticed that in citing the words of Mt. 28, 19, Eusebius omits the baptismal command in 24 instances, and in 17 of these he inserts the phrase *in my name.* If we subject these passages to a closer examination, we shall observe further liberties which Eusebius takes with this text of Matthew.

The form: "Going make disciples of all the nations in my name, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you", which Conybeare would have us believe was the original text, occurs only in the *Dem. Evang.* 3, 6, and the corresponding part of the *Syriac Theophany* 5, 17. This same form with the omission of *in my name,* appears in *Dem. Evang.* 1, 3; 1, 4; 1, 6. An abbreviated form: "Going, make disciples of all the nations in my name", is found in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (twice) and in the corresponding portions of the *Syriac Theophany* 5, 46 and 5, 49, and also in 4, 16; in *Dem. Evang.* 9; *Hist. Eccles.* 3, 5; *Ps.* 59, 9; *Ps.* 65, 5; *Ps.* 67, 34; *Ps.* 76, 20; *Is.* 18, 2; *Is.* 34, 16; *De Laud. Const.* 16.

But even here there are variants. Thus *De Laud. Const.* puts in γοῦν after πορευθέντες, *Going therefore.* In *Ps.* 65, 5 πορευθέντες is supplied by the impossible form πορεύοντες, which Conybeare asserts[1] (perhaps rightly), is a corrupt reading for περιώντες, altho it might more easily be a corrupt reading for πορευθέντες, as Lebreton suggests.[2] The word is missing entirely in *Dem. Evang.* 3, 7 (MG 22 241 D) and in *Is.* 34, 16, so that we get the form: Make disciples of all the nations in my name. *Ps.* 46, 4; *Ps.* 95, 3, *De Eccles. Theol.* 3, 3 and *Syriac Theophany* 3, 4 give a differently abbreviated reading: Going teach all the nations.[3]

Therefore we can hardly speak of any uniform method in these citations. But on comparing them with the textus receptus, we shall observe the following peculiarities.

1. Eusebius *omits:*

a) the baptismal command 24 times;

[1] ZNTW, 1901, p. 283, n. 28.

[2] Les Origines Du Dogme de la Trinité, 1910, p. 482, note 1.

[3] Cf. E. Riggenbach, Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie VII. 1903, p. 21.

b) the phrase: teaching them to observe all things etc. 19 times;
c) the word πορευθέντες twice.

2. He *inserts:*

a) the phrase: in my name, 17 times;
b) the word γοῦν once.

This trait on Eusebius's part of omitting phrases, which he considers irrelevant to his subject, and of inserting others which he considers pertinent, is not restricted to his citations of Mt. 28, 19. It is a characteristic trait, which permeates all his writings, and is exemplified in many of his citations. This statement will be borne out by the following examples, most of which have been gathered at random. The examples have been restricted to New Testament quotations, since his citations from the Old Testament are difficult to control, owing to the fact that he might have used the original text, or the Septuagint, or the versions of Aquila or Symmachus, to whom he constantly refers in his *Commentary on the Psalms.* We shall first trace the citations of two specific texts thru the writings of Eusebius, viz: Mt. 11, 27, and Mt. 16, 18; then we shall take other passages promiscuously.

I. *Mt.* 11, 27.[4]

The textus receptus reads: "All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows (καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγιγνώσκει) the Son except the Father, neither does anyone know (οὐδέ τις ἐπιγιγνώσκει) the Father except the Son, and to whom the Son may wish to reveal (him) (ἐὰν βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι).

We notice the following renditions of this text in Eusebius's works:

1. *Dem. Evang.* 4, 3 MG 22 257 B.

"As nobody knows (ὥσπερ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω) the Father except the Son, so neither does anyone know (οὕτω καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω) the Son except the Father, alone, who has begotten him (εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ).

2. *Dem. Evang.* 5, 1 MG 22 356 D.

"No one knows (οὐδεὶς ἔγνω) the Father except the Son, and no one knows (καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω) the Son except the Father."

[4] Cf. H. Schumacher, Die Selbstoffenbarung Jesu, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912, p. 57 sqq.

3. *Hist. Eccles.* 1, 2 MG 20 53 B.

"For neither does anyone know (ὅτι δὴ οὔτε τις ἔγνω) the Father except the Son, nor on the other hand would anyone ever know the Son adequately (οὔτ' αὖ τις γνώῃ ποτὲ κατ' ἀξίαν) except the Father alone who has begotten him".

4. *Epist. ad Const.* MG 20 1545 B.

"Neither does anyone know the Father (οὔτε τις ἔγνω) except the Son, neither could anyone ever possibly know the Son adequately (οὐδ' αὐτὸν Υἱὸν γνοίη ποτέ τις ἐπαξίως) except the Father alone who has begotten him".

5. *Eclogae Propheticae* 1, 12 MG 22 1065 A.

"Neither does anyone know the Father (μηδ' εἷς ἔγνω) except the Son, and to whom the Son might reveal him" (ἄν ἀποκαλύψῃ).

6. *Contra Marcellum* 1, 1 MG 24 721 B.

"All things have been delivered to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son (οὐδεὶς ἐπιγιγνώσκει) except the Father, neither does anyone know the Father (οὐδέ τις ἐπιγιγνώσκει) except the Son".

7. *De Eccles. Theol.* 1, 12 MG 24 848 C.

"No one knows the Father (μηδεὶς ἔγνω) except the Son, neither does anyone know the Son (μηδέ τις ἔγνω) except the Father alone who has begotten him".

8. *Id.* 1, 13 *l. c.* 852 A.

"All things have been delivered to me by my Father".

9. *Id.* 1, 15 *l. c.* 853 D sq.

He quotes Marcellus as saying: "For no one knows the Father (οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδε) except the Son". Then a few lines later: "No one knows the Father (οὐδεὶς ἐπιγιγνώσκει) except the Son and to whom the Son will reveal him" (ἄν ἀποκαλύψει).

10. *Id.* 1, 16 *l. c.* 857 A.

"No one knows the Father (οὐδεὶς ἔγνω) except the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal him" (ἄν ἀποκαλύψει).

11. *Id.* 1, 20 *l. c.* 873 B.

"All things have been delivered to me by my Father. And no one knows the Son (οὐδεὶς ἐπιγιγνώσκει) except the Father".

12. *De Fide Adversus Sabellium* 2 *l. c.* 1061 B.

"No one knows the Father (nemo novit) except the Son, and no one knows the Son (nemo novit) except the Father".

From these examples we notice:

1. That Eusebius *omits:*
   a) "All things have been delivered to me by my Father", in nn. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.
   b) "and to whom the Son may wish to reveal him" in nn. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12.
   c) "No one knows the Son except the Father" in nn. 5, 8, 9, 10.
   d) "No one knows the Father except the Son" in nn. 8, 11.

2. He *inserts:*
   a) "except the Father alone who has begotten him" in nn. 1, 3, 4, 7.
   b) "ever . . . adequately" in nn. 3, 4.

3. He *changes:*
   a) ἐπιγιγνώσκει into ἔγνω in nn. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10.
   b) the second ἐπιγιγνώσκει into γνώῃ in no. 3; into γνοίη in no. 4.
   c) ἐὰν βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι into ἄν ἀποκαλύψῃ (no. 5); ἄν ἀποκαλύψει (nn. 9, 10).
   d) καὶ οὐδεὶς . . . οὐδέ τις, into ὥσπερ οὐδεὶς . . . οὕτω καὶ οὐδεὶς (no. 1); οὐδεὶς . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς (no. 2); οὔτε τις . . . οὔτ' αὖ τις (no. 3); οὔτε τις . . . οὔτε τις (no. 4); μηδ' εἷς (no. 5); μηδεὶς . . . μηδέ τις (no. 7).

Would we be justified in concluding from these instances that the phrases "all things have been delivered to me by my Father," and "and to whom the Son may reveal him," were not in the text, which Eusebius used, simply because he omits the first 10 times, and the second 9 times? Would we be justified in saying that the phrase "except the Father alone who has begotten him," originally belonged to the text, because Eusebius quotes it 4 times, each time with the same phraseology? Should we conclude that Eusebius read ἔγνω instead of ἐπιγιγνώσκει, because he used the former 7 times and the latter only three times? Yet this is just what Conybeare does with Mt. 28, 19 on account of similar peculiarities.

Let us now take the second case: Mt. 16, 18.[5]

[5] Cf. Resch Aussercanon. Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien TU X Band,

II. *Mt.* 16, 18.

The textus receptus runs: "And I say to thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it".

1. This text is cited exactly in:

   a) Dem. Evang. 3, 5 MG 22 216 D;
   b) De Resurrectione 2 MG 24 1111 B;
   c) Syriac Theophany 4, 11 (Gressmann, p. 181*);
   d) Hist. Eccles. 6, 25 MG 20 584 A.
   Here Eusebius quotes words of Origen which suppose the received text, scil: "Peter, on whom is built the Church of Christ, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail".

2. However, we meet with the form: "Upon *the* rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it", in

a)	De Laud. Const.		17	MG	20	1435 C;
b)	Praep. Evang.	1	3	"	21	33 B;
c)	Ps.	59	11	"	23	572 D;
d)	Ps.	67	34	"	23	720 C;
e)	Is.	33	20	"	24	329 B;
f)	Is.	49	16	"	24	457 A.

3. We find an addition to this, in the form: "Upon the rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. The rock, however, was Christ" (taken from I Cor. 10, 4), in Ps. 17, 15. 16, MG 23 173 D.

4. We find a still more abbreviated form in Is. 28, 16 MG 24 292 A: "Upon the rock will I build my church".

Is it right for us, therefore, to maintain that the phrase "and I say to thee that thou art Peter", did not exist in the manuscripts which Origen and Pamphilus had gathered at Caesarea, and which must have ante-dated our oldest uncials by 50-150 years? Can we in defence of this theory overthrow Eusebius's authorship of the *Dem. Evang.* and of the *De Resurrectione*, and accuse the Syriac translator of the *Theophany* "of garbling his text", or of "copying the phrase out of the Syriac Vulgate in order to save himself labor?" We might reasonably hesitate in drawing, and surely, in

I Theil, Leipzig, 1894, p. 187 . . .; also: Th. Zahn, Das Evang. des Matth. ad loc. p. 544, note 65.

positively asserting, such far-sweeping conclusions, even from the citations of a scrupulously conscientious author, let alone an author like Eusebius, whose freedom with the Sacred Text renders him unreliable in reconstructing the exact form of any text of Holy Writ. This will be more evident from the examples which follow.

III. *Miscellaneous Citations.*

A. *Omissions.*

1. *Dem. Evang.* 10 MG 22 717 C.

"He said to the evil ones: 'Why do you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth to you?'"

John 8, 40: "But *now you seek* to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth to you, *which I have heard of God.* This Abraham did not".

2. *Ps.* 59, 8. 9 MG 23 565 C.

"These things occurred after the disciples of the Savior suffered persecution at Jerusalem. For the Scripture says: 'There was raised a great persecution against the Church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all dispersed'".

Acts 8, 1: "*And at that time* there was raised a great persecution against the Church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all dispersed *thru the countries of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles*".

3. *Ps.* 59, 8. 9 *l. c.* 568 C.

"This was Esau, of whom it has been said: 'lest there be any fornicator, or profane person like Esau'".

Hebr. 12, 16: "Lest there be any fornicator or profane person like Esau, *who for one mess sold his first birthright*".

4. *Ps.* 59, 13. 14 *l. c.* 573 C.

"Such was Paul who said: 'I can do all things in him, who strengthens me' (exactly as in Phil. 4, 13); and again: 'yet not I but the grace with me".

I Cor. 15, 10: "But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace in me has not been void; *but I have labored more abundantly than all they;* yet not I but the *grace of God* with me".

5. *Ps.* 62, 4-6 *l. c.* 608 B.

"According to the one who says: 'I will that men pray, lifting up pure hands, without anger and contentions (διαλογισμῶν)'".

I Tim. 2, 8: "I will, *therefore,* that men pray *in every place,* lifting up pure hands, without anger and contention (διαλογισμοῦ)".

6. *Ps.* 62, 7-9 *l. c.* 609 A.

"And in another place the Savior says: 'Be prepared because you do not know in what watch (φυλακῇ) your Lord will come'. And again: 'But this know ye that if the master of the house knew in which watch the thief would come'".

Mt. 24, 42 sq.: "Be prepared, *therefore,* because you do not know in what *day* (ἡμέρᾳ) your Lord will come. But this know ye that if the master of the house knew in which watch the thief would come, *he would certainly be prepared and would not allow his house to be broken open".*

7. *De Eccles. Theol.* 1, 20 MG 24 865 B.

"(John the Evangelist) says of the Baptist: 'He was not the light, but was to give testimony of the light, which enlightens every man that comes into the world. He was in the world and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came into his own, and his own received him not'".

John 1, 8 sq.: "He was not the light, but was to give testimony of the light. *That was the true light,* which enlightens every man, that comes into the world, etc.".

8. *Idem l. c.* 869 A.

"John bears testimony of him and says: 'This was the one that will come after me, who was preferred before me, because he was before me, because of his fulness we have all received'".

John 1, 15 sq.: "This was the one of *whom I spoke: He that* shall come after me, is preferred before me etc".

9. *Idem l. c.* 869 D sq.

"We can hear (the Savior) himself, who teaches (us) thus: 'For God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him, may not perish'. And again: 'For God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world'. And again: 'But he that does not believe, is already judged; because he does not believe in the name of the only begotten Son of God'".

John 3, 16 sqq.: "For God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him, may not perish, *but may have life everlasting.* For God sent not his Son into the

world to judge the world, *but that the world may be saved by him. He that believes in him is not judged;* but he that does not believe is already judged, because he does not believe in the name of the only begotten Son of God".

10. *Idem l. c.* 872 C, D.

"That one will answer who says: 'He that comes from above, is above all'; and: 'He that comes from heaven, testifies what he has seen and heard'".

John 3, 31 sq.: "He that comes from above is above all. *He that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth does he speak.* He that comes from heaven, is *above all;* and what he has seen and heard, that he testifies, *and no man receives his testimony*".

11. *Idem. l. c.* 873 A.

"He (John the Evangelist) teaches us: 'The Father loves the Son, and has given all things in his hand. He that believes in the Son has life everlasting'".

John 3, 36 adds: "*but he that does not believe the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abides on him*".

12. *Idem l. c.* 873 D.

"He also calls himself the bread of life, saying: 'I am the bread of life. I am the living bread which came down from heaven'".

John 6, 48-51: "I am the bread of life. *Your fathers did eat meat in the desert, and are dead. This is the bread which comes down from heaven, that if any man eat of it, he may not die.* I am the living bread which came down from heaven".

13. *Idem l. c.* 876 C.

"And continuing he proclaims the excellence of his Father's glory, saying: 'As the Father has taught me, these things I speak'".

John 8, 28: "*When you shall have lifted up the Son of man, then shall you know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself;* but as the Father has taught me, these things I speak".

14. *Idem l. c.* 880 A.

"(Christ) says: 'The testimony of two men is true. I am one that gives testimony of myself, and the Father that sent me, gives testimony of me'".

John 8, 17: "*And in your law it is written that the testimony* of two men is true etc".

15. *Idem l. c.* 881 A.

"And Paul, the divine Apostle, says: 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things'".

I Cor. 8, 16: "*Yet* to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, *and we unto him;* and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things; *and we by him*".

16. *Idem l. c.* 884 A.

"(Paul) says: 'Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal to God; but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, and in habit found as a man'".

Phil. 2, 7: ". . . but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, *being made in the likeness of men,* and in habit found as a man".

17. *Idem l. c.* 884 D.

"The same (Apostle) calls him the mediator of God and men, saying that the law of Moses was given in his hand, concerning which he says: 'The law, being ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator; but the mediator is not of one, but God is one'".

Gal. 3, 19 sq.: "*Why then* was the law? *It was set because of transgressions, until the seed should come to whom he made the promise,* being ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator; now the mediator is not of one, but God is one".

18. *Idem l. c.* 885 A.

"Moreover, Paul calls him the splendor of glory, and the figure and Son of God, and heir, saying: 'In these last days, he has spoken to us in his Son, whom he has appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world, who being the brightness of his glory and the figure of his substance'". He does not complete the citation, which in Hebrews 1, 3 continues: "*and upholding all things by the word of his power making purgation of sins, sits on the right hand of the majesty on high*".

19. *Dem. Evang.* 3, 5 MG 22 213 D.

"Then keeping on, he (Matthew) gives the catalog of the disciples, calling himself a publican, when he says: 'The names of

the twelve apostles are these: First Simon, who is called Peter and Andrew his brother, James the Son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the publican'".

On reaching this point, he does not care to complete his citation from Mt. 10, 2 sq.: "*and James the son of Alphæus, and Thaddeus, Simon the Cananean, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him*".

20. *Idem l. c.* 216 B.

Same as above. Here he quotes from Luke 6, 31-35; and wishes to show that Luke places Matthew ahead of Thomas, and does not call him a publican. Hence he stops after "Matthew and Thomas".

21. *Idem* 3, 6 *l. c.* 224 C.

"His disciples testify that he ordained that they should not even look at a woman with lust, saying: 'It was said to them of old etc.'". He omits from Mt. 5, 27: "*You have heard that* it was said to them of old".

22. *Idem* 4, 16 *l. c.* 324 B.

"The divine Apostle says: 'Let no one, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a festival day, or new moons, or sabbaths, which are a shadow of the things to come'".

He omits the final clause as irrelevant: "but *the body* (*is*) *of Christ*" (*Coloss*, 2, 17).

B. *Additions, Combinations, Changes.*

1. *Ps.* 30, 10 MG 23 268 D sq.

"The Savior says: 'He who will drink of the water which I shall give him, out of his innermost soul (κοιλία) shall flow rivers of living water, springing up into life everlasting". Here we have a combination of the words which Christ spoke to the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob (John 4, 13 sq.): "Whosoever drinks of this water, shall thirst *again; but he that will drink of the water which I shall give him,* shall not thirst forever; but the water that I shall give him, shall become in him a fountain of water, *springing up into life everlasting*"; and the words recorded in John 7, 37 sq. on the occasion of the feast of tabernacles: "If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. He that believes in me as

the Scripture says, *out of his innermost soul* (κοιλία) *rivers of living water shall flow*".

2. The same citation with the same phraseology appears in *Ps.* 92, 3 *Ibid.* 1189 A.

3. *Ps.* 60, 6 *Ibid.* 581 B.

"Again you have the promise of our Savior, when he says: 'And in this world (ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ) he will receive much more (πολυπλασίονα λήψεται), and in the future world (ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι) he will possess life everlasting (κληρονομήσει)".

Mt. 19, 29 runs: "And every one that has left house or brethren etc. for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold (ἑκατονπλασίονα λήψεται) and shall possess life everlasting (κληρονομήσει)".

Lk. 18, 29 has: "There is no man that has left house etc. for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive much more (πολλαπλασίονα ἀπολάβῃ) in this present time (ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ) and in the world to come (ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ) life everlasting".

Tatian, the vetus latina, Syrus Sinaiticus, and Curetonianus add κληρονομήσει to the text of Luke (cf. Vogels); still Eusebius's quotation is a combination of both Luke and Matthew, as is evident from the verb λήψεται. Then notice the change of ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ into ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ; of ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ into ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; of πολλαπλασίονα into the later form πολυπλασίονα.

4. *Ps.* 36, 26 *Ibid.* 333 C.

Here we have an abbreviated form of the preceding: "It has been said by the Savior: 'And in this world (ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ) he will receive a hundredfold (ἑκατονπλασίονα λήψεται)".

Ἑκατονπλασίονα is again added to the text of Luke by Syrus Sinaiticus, Curetonianus and 472 (cf. Vogels); however the verb λήψεται occurs only in Matthew, so that we have another combination of the two Gospels.

5. *Ps.* 68, 3 *Ibid.* 729 B.

"When therefore, Jesus had taken the vinegar with gall, he said: 'This Scripture also is fulfilled (τετέλεσθαι)' ".

John 19, 30 has: "When, therefore, Jesus had taken the vinegar, he said: It is fulfilled (τετέλεσθαι)". Consequently the expression: καὶ αὕτη ἡ Γραφὴ was added by Eusebius.

6. *Ps.* 68, 22 *Ibid.* 749 C.

The same citation with the same phraseology as the preceding.

7. *De Eccles. Theol.* 1, 20 MG 24 872 C.

"The Savior proclaims that he is the leader, saying: 'I am the light, and the truth, and the life'".

John 8, 12: "I am the *light* of the world".

John 15, 6: "I am the way, and the *truth, and the life*".

8. *Idem* 1, 12 *Ibid.* 848 D.

"(The Savior) among other things has taught us this, saying: 'That which is born of the flesh, is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit; but God is the spirit'".

John 3, 6: "that which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit".

John 4, 24: "*God is a spirit;* and they that adore him, must adore him in spirit and in truth".

9. *Idem* 1, 20 *Ibid.* 868 D sq.

"(Christ) teaches saying: 'Father, glorify me with the glory, which I had before the world was, with thee'. And the Father in answer said: 'And I have glorified and again I shall glorify'".

John 12, 28: "Father, glorify thy name. A voice therefore, came from heaven: *I have glorified and again I shall glorify*".

John 17, 5: "And now glorify me, O Father, with thyself, with the glory which I had before the world was, with thee".

Here we have a marvellous combination of two texts, referring to two different occasions and to two different contexts. Still that does not prevent Eusebius from blending them together as if they were spoken on the same occasion and in the same context.

10. *Ps.* 61, 6-9 MG 23 593 C.

"As the divine Apostle speaking of the Savior wrote: 'Being justified freely by his grace, thru the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God has proposed to be a propitiation thru faith in his blood' (exactly as in Rom. 3, 24 sq. altho we notice that he does not complete the citation); and again: 'If anyone sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the Just, and he is the propitiation for our sins'".

The second citation follows on the first as if it, too, were taken from the "divine Apostle"; whereas it is taken from *I John* 2, 1: "And if anyone sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the Just, and he is the propitiation for our sins; *and not for ours only but for those of the whole world*".

11. *Ps.* 58, 8. 9 *Ibid.* 569 C.

"On which account the Savior preached to them first, saying: 'I did not *come* (ἦλθον) except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel'".

Mt. 15, 24: "I was not *sent* (ἀπεστάλην) except for the lost sheep of the house of Israel".

12. *Ps.* 60, 2. 3 *Ibid.* 576 D.

"Such was Paul, who said: 'For *living* (ζῶντες) in the flesh we do not war according to the flesh'".

II Cor. 10, 3: "For *walking* (περιπατοῦντες) in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh".

13. *Ps.* 60, 2. 3 *Ibid.* 577 B.

"Thus (Paul) mourns for many, concerning whom he says: 'I shall mourn many of them, that sinned before, and have not repented of the *sin* (ἁμαρτίᾳ), and *lawlessness* (ἀνομίᾳ), and *impiety* (ἀσεβείᾳ), which they committed'".

II Cor. 12, 21: "Lest again when I come, God shall humble me in your regard, so that (καὶ) I shall mourn many of them that sinned before, and have not repented of the *uncleanness* (ἀκαθαρσίᾳ), and *fornication* (πορνείᾳ), and *lewdness* (ἀσελγείᾳ), which they committed".

14. *De Theol. Eccles.* 1, 20 MG 24 868 A.

"And (God) is light inaccessible, as the divine Apostle teaches, when he says: 'inhabiting light inaccessible, whom no one has seen, nor is able to see. But he was in the world enlightening every man coming into the world'".

First of all we notice that I Tim. 6, 16 has οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, where Eusebius puts merely οὐδείς. Moreover, he joins John 1, 9 sq. to I Tim. 6, 16; but even the text of John is distorted to suit his purpose. *John* 1, 9 sq. reads: "That was the true light, which enlightens every man coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not".

15. *Is.* 1, 31 *Ibid.* 101 B.

"Therefore they cannot say like the disciples of Christ: 'We can do all things in him, who strengthens us, God'".

Phil. 4, 13: "I can do all things in him who strengthens me".

16. *Dem. Evang.* 5, 3 MG 22 368 C.

"And according to the Apostle, when 'he became obedient to *the Father* unto death, even the death of the Cross, therefore,' he says, 'God exalted him, raising him up from the dead, and setting him on his right hand, above all principality, and power, and virtue, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come'".

Phil. 2, 8 sq.: "He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross; for which cause God also has exalted him, and has given him the name which is above all names".

Ephes. 1, 20 sq.: "which he wrought in Christ, raising him up from the dead, and setting him on his right hand *in the heavenly places,* above all principality etc.".

CONCLUSION.

Similar instances of free citations could be multiplied to the point of nausea, since they litter the pages of Eusebius's writings. But the foregoing examples show that an author like Eusebius, who cites text after text and omits words and phrases which do not fit in with the trend of his thought; who inserts into the Sacred Text clauses of his own coinage; who fuses together various passages of the same author, or of different authors, to bring out more vividly the salient points under discussion,—that such an author cannot be taken as the basis for reconstructing any text of Scripture, let alone a passage like Mt. 28, 19, which, as E. Riggenbach has shown, is incontestably attested by a multitude of witnesses prior to Eusebius.

Despite the fact that Eusebius was the most learned Scripture scholar of the early fourth century; despite the fact that he had at his disposal one of the best libraries of the age, in which Origen and Pamphīlus must have collected manuscripts ante-dating our oldest uncials by 50-150 years,—still his authority in re-establishing the exact form of the original text of the New Testament, is negligible, if we gauge thāt authority by the careless citations with which his writings teem.

Consequently, Conybeare's efforts to discard the baptismal command from the Gospel of Matthew, because that command is cited only five times out of 29 in the works which heretofore had always been ascribed to Eusebius, and his further attempt to brush aside Eusebius's authorship of the works in which the textus receptus occurs, must be set down as complete failures. Even had Conybeare succeeded in establishing the spuriousness of the five books *Contra Marcellum*, the carelessness of the Syriac translator of the *Theophany*, and the illegitimacy of the baptismal command in the *Letter to the Church at Caesarea*, he would have proved *absolutely nothing*. For the notorious omissions, insertions, combinations, and changes in the citations of Eusebius, undermine the inference that the baptismal command was not in his text of the New Testament because he did not cite it in his works.

Were Conybeare to follow his method to its logical conclusion, he would be forced to reject and to insert many another clause as unauthentic or authentic, and to shelve many a writing and pas-

sage of Eusebius as spurious and forged. The omission of the baptismal command in 24 instances, and the insertion of the phrase "in my name" in 17 of these, is no more a proof that the first is unauthentic and the second authentic, than is the similar omission and insertion of many another phrase and clause a proof of their spuriousness or authenticity.

Eusebius in citing Mt. 28, 19 was true to that spirit of unfettered license, which he generously permitted himself in every one of his writings. When the baptismal command marred the development of his thought, he omitted it; when it was needed in the context, he adduced it. When his subject demanded some confirmation over and above the words of Matthew, he sought it in the synoptics; and artfully wove it into the text of Matthew, giving us the impression that he had found it there. This conclusion is not subjective: it is based on the method used by Eusebius thru all his writings; and it adequately accounts for the peculiar citations of Mt. 28, 19, without putting us to the trouble of dislodging a time-honored clause from the First Gospel, of introducing in its stead a hybrid phrase, of disqualifying at least two of Eusebius's writings as bastard products, and of devising interpolations in others.

The fact that in spite of his carelessness, Eusebius in five instances in his works quotes the passage exactly as we have it in the received text, brings the authenticity of Mt. 28, 19 into bold relief. In the spirit of his Letter to Caesarea, we can say that Eusebius had received this text from the bishops before him; it had been officially imparted to him in his first catechesis, and when he had received baptism; he had learned and studied it from the Divine Writings; and he had believed the doctrine contained in it, and preached that doctrine thruout his priestly and episcopal career.

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No. 20

THESES

DEUS LUX MEA

THESES

QUAS

AD DOCTORATUM

IN

SACRA THEOLOGIA

APUD UNIVERSITATEM CATHOLICAM AMERICAE

CONSEQUENDUM

PUBLICE PROPUGNABIT

BERNARDUS HENRICUS CUNEO, O. F. M.

PROVINCIAE S. BARBARAE, CALIF.

S. THEOL. LICENTIATUS

THESES

1.

The numbers used in the genealogy of St. Matthew are not inserted by chance; they are mentioned intentionally, and have a deep, sacred meaning.

2.

The best solution for the omissions in St. Matthew's genealogy is to be found in the " condemnatio memoriae ", a principle known to the people of antiquity.

3.

The text of Matthew 1, 16, despite the seemingly contrary reading of Syrus Sinaiticus, refers to the supernatural birth of Christ.

4.

The pericope of Luke 1, 26-38, despite the objections of higher criticism and the objections drawn from the comparative study of religions, is authentic, and refers to the supernatural birth of Christ.

5.

The best solution of the Synoptic problem seems to be that the evangelists made use of pre-gospel sources, which originated at Jerusalem.

6.

The opinion of the earlier scholastics, who tried to escape the seeming contradiction between the Acts (2, 38; 8, 16; 10. 48; 19, 5) and the Letters of St. Paul (Gal. 3, 27; Rom. 6, 3) and Mt. 28, 19, by postulating a divine dispensation for the Apostles to baptise in the name of Jesus alone, must be rejected as arbitrary and unfounded.

7.

St. Paul's statement in I Cor. 1, 17: " Christ sent me not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel ", does not undermine Christ's command to baptise, as recorded in Mt. 28, 19.

8.

The authenticity of Mt. 28, 19 is established beyond doubt by the overwhelming testimony of all extant manuscripts and versions.

9.

The interpolation of the text of the Three Witnesses (I John 5, 7 sq.) cannot be adduced as an argument *a pari* for the alleged interpolation of the Lord's command to baptise (Mt. 28, 19).

10.

The opposition of the Apostles to Paul's missionary activity among the Gentiles (Gal. 2) does not militate against Christ's final commission to his disciples to preach the Gospel to all the nations.

11.

It cannot be claimed that the doctrine of the universality of salvation contained in Mt. 28, 19 is a clear instance of historical anachronism, on the ground that such a doctrine only gradually and at a late period took the place of the narrow, nationalistic, and particularistic view of the Jewish disciples.

12.

It cannot be said that the Letter of St. Bernard of Clairvaux to Henry the Archdeacon is spurious on account of the doctrine which it professes, scil: that baptism is valid if it is performed with the formula: " Baptizo

te in nomine Dei et sanctae crucis"; since this doctrine is the logical outcome of the interpretation which Bernard's teacher and friend, Hugo de St. Victor, gave to the words of Mt. 28, 19.

13.

The theory that the Apostles made use of a dual form of baptism,—a christological form for the Jews, and a trinitarian form for the Gentiles,—must be rejected on the same ground as the theory of the earlier scholastics.

14.

The "disciplina arcani" cannot be the motive which influenced Eusebius of Caesarea to omit the baptismal command in 24 instances thruout his works.

15.

The five citations of the baptismal command in the works of Eusebius cannot be due to the influence of the Council of Nicaea.

16.

It is rash and unwarranted to maintain that the trinitarian citation of Mt. 28, 19, which occurs in the Letter of Eusebius to his Church in Caesarea, was interpolated from the *Arian* Council held at Constantinople A. D. 341.

17.

The 24 omissions of the baptismal command in the works of Eusebius are due in each case to the nature of the immediate context.

18.

The five trinitarian citations in Eusebius's works are demanded in each case by the nature of the immediate context.

19.

The phrase "in my name", which in 18 instances Eusebius connects with the parting words of Christ, does not prove that this phrase was an original part of the Gospel of Matthew; it is due to a combination of the texts of Matthew and Luke.

20.

The notorious omissions, combinations, insertions, and changes in Eusebius's citations of Holy Writ weaken his authority in reëstablishing the precise, exact form of the original text of the New Testament.

21.

The testimony of various books of the Old Law attest that Moses was the author of writings of an historical and legislative nature.

22.

From internal criticism of the Pentateuch it is highly probable that these writings of Moses were carefully preserved, and formed a literary work, which portrayed the events accompanying the promulgation of the Mosaic Law, and reproduced the essential contents of the Law.

23.

A number of observations in the Pentateuch of an historical, geographical, and archaeological nature date from various periods in post-Mosaic times, some perhaps from the time after the exile.

24.

The theory of the Wellhausen school in the greater part of its application is untenable.

25.

The Pentateuch must be considered as trustworthy and authoritative in its narration of historical events.

26.

The Accadian version of the creation, the fall of man, and the deluge, cannot be taken as the source from which the Bible accounts are derived.

27.

The arguments brought forward against the genuineness of Isaias 40-56, altho not idle or trivial, are by no means sufficient to disprove the authorship of Isaias.

28.

The Ebed-Jahwe pericopes in Is. 42-53, as a whole, cannot be interpreted as references to the Israelitic people, or to a person living contemporaneously with the prophet; they are real prophecies, which reach their ultimate fulfillment in Christ.

29.

It cannot be maintained that the religion of the patriarchs was a form of fetichism; or that it in any way sanctioned the worship of idols, or the sacrifice of human beings.

30.

The religion of the patriarchs was marked by ethical principles of a high character, and by ceremonial observances.

31.

The story of St. Peter's vision at Joppe, related in the tenth chapter of Acts, does not militate against the authenticity of Christ's commission to the Apostles to make disciples of all the nations, as recorded in Mt. 28, 19.

32.

The Gospel sayings of Jesus plainly indicate that he meant his Church to possess the threefold authority to teach, rule, and sanctify mankind.

33.

The existence of this authority in the primitive Church is amply revealed in the Epistles of St. Paul.

34.

The New Testament concept of Church authority includes the recognition of infallibility in its exercise.

35.

The Catholic intolerance of doctrinal error is reflected in the Epistles of St. Paul.

36.

The objection of Higher Criticism against the authenticity or historicity of Mt. 28, 19, on the ground that the dogma of the Trinity which is there contained, was developed at a period later than that in which the First Gospel was written, is futile in view of the fact that this dogma is clearly taught in other texts of the New Testament.

37.

The New Testament Writings attribute a distinct, divine personality to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

38.

Despite this distinction in personality, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have the same identical nature.

39.

The dogma of the Trinity is a mystery which cannot be grasped by reason; still we cannot maintain that it is contrary to reason.

40.

Light can be shed on the doctrine of the Trinity by arguments from analogy.

41.

Christian Baptism, as it is described in the Book of Acts, is an institution essentially distinct from the ceremonial washings of the Jews and the Gentiles.

42.

In opposition to Harnack and other radical critics, it must be set down as certain, that Christ instituted the Sacrament of Baptism in the New Law.

43.

It is the unanimous verdict of Tradition that over and above the ablution with water, an invocation of the Trinity is required in administering the Sacrament of Baptism.

44.

These two requirements cannot be clearly deduced from the Lord's command to baptise, as that command is recorded in Mt. 28, 19.

45.

It is not certain that the invocation of the Trinity, which Tradition postulates as an essential requirement of Baptism, is identical with the the present baptismal formula: "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost".

46.

Private landownership is a natural right.

47.

The arguments which furnish the basis of Henry George's attack against private landownership, will not stand investigation.

48.

The interest-taker is justified on the grounds of presumption, analogy, and possession.

49.

Possessors are under strict obligation to give of their surplus wealth to the indigent.

50.

The laborer has a right to a living wage.

51.

The marriage of baptised persons is regulated not only by divine, but also by canonical law, the civil power remaining competent in regard to the civil effects of marriage (canon 1016).

52.

The supreme civil authority most probably has the right of exercising, with a view to temporal welfare, legislative, judicial, and coercive power over non-christian marriages.

53.

The ancient law of the Church, which did not require any special formalities for the validity of betrothals, was definitely specified by the decree "Ne temere" of Pope Pius X, August 2, 1907, and modified by the New Canon Law.

54.

The pastor is bound in conscience to investigate by personal inquiry whether the parties to be married give their consent freely, are duly instructed in Christian Doctrine, and have received the Sacrament of

Baptism and Confirmation; he is likewise bound to investigate, especially by means of the banns, whether any impediment exist regarding the marriage (canons 1022-1029).

55.

The course to be pursued by a pastor, who after careful investigation is convinced of the existence of an impediment, or is doubtful of such existence, is clearly laid down in canon 1031.

56.

The contention of F. C. Conybeare that in the seventh century the entire Celtic Church administered Baptism in the name of Jesus alone, and was for this reason cut off from communion with Rome, is not in accordance with historical truth.

57.

The five books "Contra Marcellum", written against Marcellus of Ancyra, are the work of Eusebius of Caesarea, and not of Eusebius of Emesa, as F. C. Conybeare tried to maintain.

58.

Though chronologically the Franciscans were the first missionaries in Lower California (1535; 1596), the first real evangelisers of the country were the Jesuits (1683-1767), who were succeeded on their expulsion by the Franciscans (1768), who in turn ceded the territory to the Dominicans (1773-1834).

59.

The evangelisation of Upper California (the present state of California) is the work of the Franciscan Friars, who entered the new territory in the year 1769 under the leadership of Junipero Serra.

60.

The secularisation of the Franciscan Missions in Upper California proved detrimental to the spiritual and the temporal welfare of the California Indians.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Bernard Henry Cuneo was born November 14, 1895 at Santa Cruz, California. His primary studies he pursued at the public school of the same city, and at St. Francis School, Watsonville, California. In September, 1906 he entered the preparatory seminary for the Franciscan Order at Santa Barbara, California. After graduating in June, 1911, he took the habit in the Franciscan Order at Oakland, California, and after a year of probation, continued his classical course from July, 1912 to July, 1913 at the same city. In the Franciscan seminary at West Park, Ohio, he pursued his course in Philosophy (1913-1915) and Theology (1915-1918), completing the latter course at St. Louis, Mo. (1918-1919). From July, 1919 to September, 1920, he was active as assistant pastor in the Italian Church of the Immaculate Conception, San Francisco, California. From September, 1920 to September, 1921, he taught Greek and English at the preparatory seminary at Santa Barbara. In October, 1921 he matriculated at the Catholic University of America, where he successfully passed the examinations for the S. T. B. in the same month, and for the S. T. L. in June, 1922.

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